/51 cont'd/
585 dong (transliteration) are in bloom. It is said that this period of the year is unlucky for marriage. The best times for a marriage are in the eleventh month, twelfth month, and the first month.

3. Funeral Service

764 The funeral is usually held on the second day after the death of a Miao. Without waiting for a request from the dead man's family, his fellow villagers gather together voluntarily to offer their assistance in attending to the funeral rites. The coffin is made of wood. After the corpse is placed in it, the coffin is taken out through the main entrance. Three burning incense sticks are put in front of the coffin. At the same time, a man holding a big knife chants incan-
[763] tations toward the coffin. After the coffin is covered, two Taoist priests face the dead person and pray. It is said that they pray that he, in the other world, will bless the children he has left behind. A priest cuts three ropes which were previously put on top of the coffin. It is said that the idea of this is to tell the deceased that the different paths of yin and yang are now separated by this. After the dead man's children have set their finger prints on the coffin, it is carried by four men to the grave site and interred. A simple band of musicians and the dead man's son (or sons) accompanies the coffin to the grave. If his son (or sons) is too young, he only escorts the coffin to the gate of the village. Daughters do not accompany the coffin. After the burial, the funeral is over. The Miao do not have any post-
● [764] funeral services as the Chinese do, such as the "Seventh Day Memorial Services," "Anniversary Memorial Service," "Third Anniversary Memorial Service," "Tomb-sweeping Ceremony," etc. While the burial is taking place the hats of the dead man's children
[765] are fastened with hemp strings to indicate mourning. After the burial is over, they are taken off.

765 According to Miao superstition, the tso-chai service is necessary before the soul of the deceased can reach its final resting place.
[71] The tso-chai service of the Miao is similar to the chien-chiao service of the Chinese. /52/ According to Miao custom, this service is held within one or two years after the death. The service may last

/19 cont./

M *101 CC 563 M [162] when trouble starts, their chiefs rebel. Wu Pan-sheng, Wu Pa-yüeh, Shih Liu-teng, and Shih San-pao were all He Miao, according to their own statements." Although the Miao in the three sub-prefectures are broadly divided into the Hung Miao and the He Miao, when one looks into their origins, besides these two subgroups, the Hung and the He, there appear to be Ch'ing Miao, Hua Miao, and Pe Miao mixed in with them. As they were small in number, they were less known. Moreover, the Hung Miao and the He Miao have a variety of other names. Yung-sui T'ing Chih /Annals of Yung-sui Sub-prefecture, 1908/ gives 22 different ones as follows:

M [167] (1) Hung /Red/ Miao. They originally came from Tung-jen, Kweichow. They are very numerous. Eastward their area extends to Ch'en-chou, westward to P'ing-t'ou, P'ing-ch'a, and Yu-yang native subdistricts /t'u szu/ in Szechwan, north to Pao-ching, south to Ma-yang, and southeast to Wu-chai subdistrict. This area measures 1,200 li in circumference, 300 li in length, and 120 li in width, within which confines resides this tribe.

M [131] [167] [301] [556] [527] (2) Ch'ing /Green/ Miao. — This tribe originally came from Ch'ing-chen, Kweiyang. Men and women generally wear silver neckbands, and a rich woman wears as many as six or seven of them. In the first month of the year, they hold New Year parties at which men and women gather together, blowing reed flutes and singing and dancing for three days. The chicken yards are especially frequented ....

M [167] [462] [782] [769] (3) He /Black/ Miao. — This tribe originally came from Tu-Yün and Pa-chai in Kweichow. They live in such places as Chen-ch'i-so. The women till the land by day and spin and weave by night. Every thirteen years they sacrifice a cow to heaven, earth, and their ancestors, which is called "Ch'ih ku tsang /eating bull's entrails/." Moreover, they put the bones of pork, chicken, mutton and dog together with whole fowls including feathers and entrails in earthen jars until they decay. This is known as "sour food." They use little salt, which is substituted for by bracken ashes.

M /19 cont./

*101 (4) Yeh T'ou Miao. — This group also belongs to the He
CC Miao. When a girl is married, she must marry the son of her
563 maternal uncle. If the latter has no son, he must be given
M presents of ornaments and money. Otherwise she may not
[582] get married at all.

(5) Tung Tsai Miao. — They are not as numerous as the Yeh T'ou Miao, and live in separate villages. The Yeh
M Tou villages are known as the Big Villages and the Tung Tsai
[628] ones as the Small Villages, the latter being subservient to the
[584] former. Marriage is restricted to their own villages. A secret
[502] marriage to a member of a big village is a violation. The Tung Tsai are good boatmen. In Mi-no these are such tribemen.

M (6) Pa Chai Miao. — This group is also a part of the He
[345] Miao. Near the village is provided an empty shed, where un-
[533] married men and women gather together to sing. If a couple
[517] fall in love, a cow is sent as a betrothal gift. One or two days
[584] after marriage the girl goes back home and still asks for money
[583] from her husband. If the money is not given she may marry again. In Ya-yu this custom still exists today.

/20/ (7) Ch'ien /Bamboo Grove/ Miao. — Another
M branch of the He Miao, there are many at Lieh-erh-shan.
[241] They live in dense bamboo groves on the mountain. They are
[262] not good at farming but grow some grain. They consider
[291] hempseed to be food and use hemp for their clothes.

[882] (8) Ch'ing Chiang He Miao /Ch'ing River Black Miao/. —
[527] The unmarried men are called "lohan" and the unmarried
[584] women, "laopei." In the spring they carry wine and food up
[851] the mountain, singing and dancing reciprocally. Those who become fond of each other drink from an ox horn and get
[167] married. After a son is born, they then say they have a
[291] descendant, and begin to be willing to work in the field.
[302] (9) Pe /White/ Miao. — They originated in Kwei-ting
[782] and Lung-li in Kweichow. They esteem white clothes, go
[769] bareheaded and barefooted, and coil up their hair with crude hairpins. A big bull is selected for the ancestral sacrifice.

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M /20 cont./
*101 After the animal is fattened, an appointment is made with other
SC bull owners in neighboring villages for a bull fight out in the
563 open. Victory is a good omen. An auspicious day is selected
M [782] to kill the bull for sacrifice to the ancestors. The sacrificer
[541] wears white clothes and a green outer garment. After the
[787] sacrifice the clan members sit around in a circle to drink
[292] heavily and to sing in a most joyful way. Today this custom
[769] is still prevalent in this sub-prefecture.

[273] (10) Chiu Ku Miao. — They originally came from Shih-
[167] ping and K'ai-li in Kweichow. It is of the same tribe as the
[291] P'ien-t'ou-he. They prefer green clothes. They are especially
[714] fierce in nature. They wear armor and carry knives. They
[411] go up mountains as if flying, and draw strong bows called the
[648] p'ien-chia. The Tung Mao people who are being taxed by the Yung Shun Pacification Commission were this tribe. They repeatedly caused trouble in Chen-ch'i-so before being put under governmental administration.

M (11) He Shan Miao. — They are found in T'ai-kung,
[302] Kweichow. They bind their hair with blue cotton and live in
[787] secluded valleys. They divine with rushes to know what is
[648] auspicious or inauspicious. During the rebellion of 1795 in the reign of Ch'ien Lung many members of this tribe joined it, and many of them were killed at Kou-pai-yen by Fu Chuang-su /the commander of the government forces/.

M (12) He Chio Miao. — They are very numerous at Ch'ing-
[291] chiang and T'ai-kung. They wear short garments and large
[411] trousers, and going and coming they carry knives and daggers.
[787] Before taking any action they put two snails in a dish, to watch
[825] their fight in order to divine whether the omen is good or bad. In the twenty-fifth year /1686/ of the reign of K'ang-hsi, with the Hung Miao, Shih Lao-ch'ung occupied T'ien-hsing-chai, but was subdued by Kuo Chung-hsiao. Today, remnants of this group can be found at Lao-feng-shan.

M (13) Ch'e Chai Miao. Originally they were from Li-p'ing
[167] and Ku-chou in Kweichow. Today, their people are still found

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+101 /20 cont./
CC in the villages around Shang-shih-li. Men learn trades and
563 women weave and embroider. Unmarried people often gather
M together for moon parties out in the open, at which men beat
[167] the monkey drums and women sing in accompaniment. It is
[462] said that over 600 of Ma San-pao's soldiers remained as husbands
[517] who lived in their wives families. Consequently they are also
[533] called the Six Hundred Untamed Miao.

[167] (14) Hsi-Ch'i Miao. — Formerly most of these lived in
[291] Chi-an-p'ing. The women's skirts do not cover the knees,
[583] and they wrap the legs with green cloth. Unmarried men and
[517] women have drinking parties in the open to find mates. After
[584] a son is born, a cow is given as a bridal gift /to the girl's
family/.

[167] (15) P'ing Fa Miao. — Originally they were from Kuei-
[782] ting hsien in Kweichow, and some of them also lived in P'ing-
[574] ch'a-szu in Szechwan. Today, many of this tribe are also
[291] found at Pai-liao. They like to kill dogs to make sacrifices
[302] to the spirits or to entertain guests. The men wear straw wraps
and short skirts; the women wear long skirts and bind their hair
[167] into a knot.

/21/ (16) Tung Miao. — They originally came from
M Lung-li and Ch'ing-p'ing in Kweichow. Today, they are still
[291] numerous in the villages of Liu-li. The men wrap their heads
M with cotton prints and wear light-blue short garments. The
[527] women wear green embroidered cotton garments with very
[782] tight sleeves. Every mid-autumn festival they make sacrifices
[769] to their ancestors and dead clan members, and invite a sorcerer
[776] to their homes. They place food and wine on a wooden board,
and calling out the spirits' names they dance and sing. (The
spirits have such names as Pao-t'ung, Po-ch'a, Po-chi, etc.)
What is commonly called "K'ou-ch'e seven maidens and the
cursed spirits" in this sub-prefecture are both remains of this
custom.

M (17) Hua /Flower/ Miao. — In Ya-yu and Ya-pao there
[531] are many of this tribe. The clothes they wear are first covered
[386] with designs in wax, and then dyed. After the dyeing, the wax
is washed out and the designs appear.

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(21) Liang Chia Miao. — This tribe like the Wu Chia Miao for the most part reside in villages in Ya-pa-ch'i. They sacrifice to the ancestors by placing a wooden pole on a fire bed without the wooden tablet. They hang up a bamboo basket in a secluded room, and in the basket is placed sacrificial paper money smeared with the blood of the slaughtered ox and pigs. At the end of the year and in the summer and winter months they enter the room, bow to the basket and utter incantations. When they make sacrifices to the spirits they empty the basket and burn the paper money.

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(22) T'ung Chia Miao. On New Year's Day they sacrifice to their ancestors and hold banquets. They are good at growing cotton and fond of wild vegetables. In the eighth year of Yung Chen's reign (1730) when the governor of the province, Chao Hung-en, made awards to his army at Hua-yüan, a T'ung Chia woman picked two strange herbs and offered them to him. They were called chih t'ou liu yeh.

The 22 different names for the Miao recorded above can be grouped as follows: The Hung Miao, Wu Chia, and Liang Chia belong to the Hung /Red/ tribe; the He Miao, Yeh T'ou, Tung Tsai, Pa Chai, Ch'ien Miao, Ch'ing Chiang He, Chiu Ku, He Shan, He Ch'ueh, Ch'e Chai, and Tzu Chiang belong to the He /Black/ tribe; the Ch'ing Miao and Hsi Ch'i belong to the Ch'ing /Green/ tribe; the Pe Miao and P'ing Fa belong to the Pe /White/ tribe; the Hua Miao and Tung Miao belong to the Hua /Flower/ tribe. Whether the Yang Pao are pure Miao cannot be ascertained at present for lack of data. The T'ung Chia are identical with the T'ung Jen found today at San-chiang, Lung-sheng, Yung-hsien, Lo-ch'eng, and Ho-ch'ih in Kwangsi. They belong to the Thai-shan group in the southwest and not to the Miao.

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From the above it will be seen that the Miao in the three sub-prefectures came largely from Kweichow, first the Hung Miao, next the He Miao, and last the other branches of the Miao. The Hung Miao are the most numerous, and therefore they are best known in the three sub-prefectures.

/38 cont./

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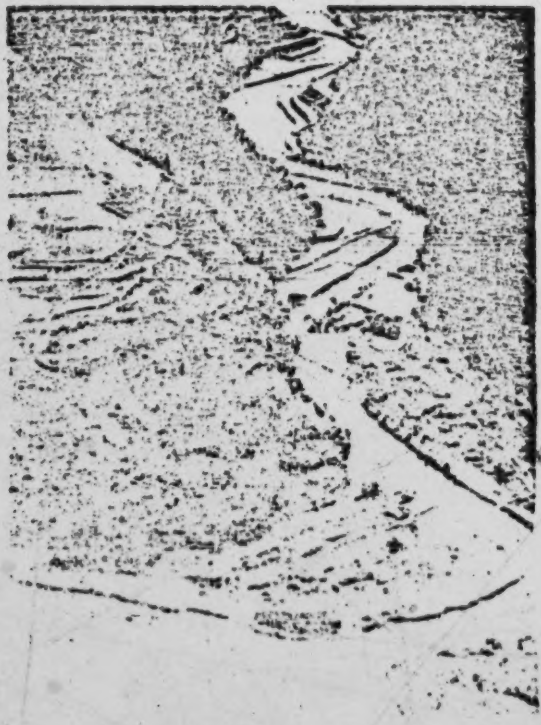

Illus. 13. A village along the bank of the T'ung Ho near Ta-lung-tung.

353
[778] Chinese) with the inscription, "Heaven, Earth, Sovereign, Rela-
[177] tives, Teacher." In the room on the right a wooden bed is placed
352 against the rear wall in a corner, /Illus. 14, page 40/ /41/ and
[231] covered with a black mosquito net. To the front beyond the bed
[354] are put farm implements, and further front is the cow stall. The
room on the left also has a bed in it in the rear and a fireplace
in the middle. Left of it under the wall pillar are generally
782 placed two small wine cups. This is the place for sacrificing
769 to the ancestors. To the front of the fireplace is the kitchen
354 stove. Among the Miao there are five surnames:
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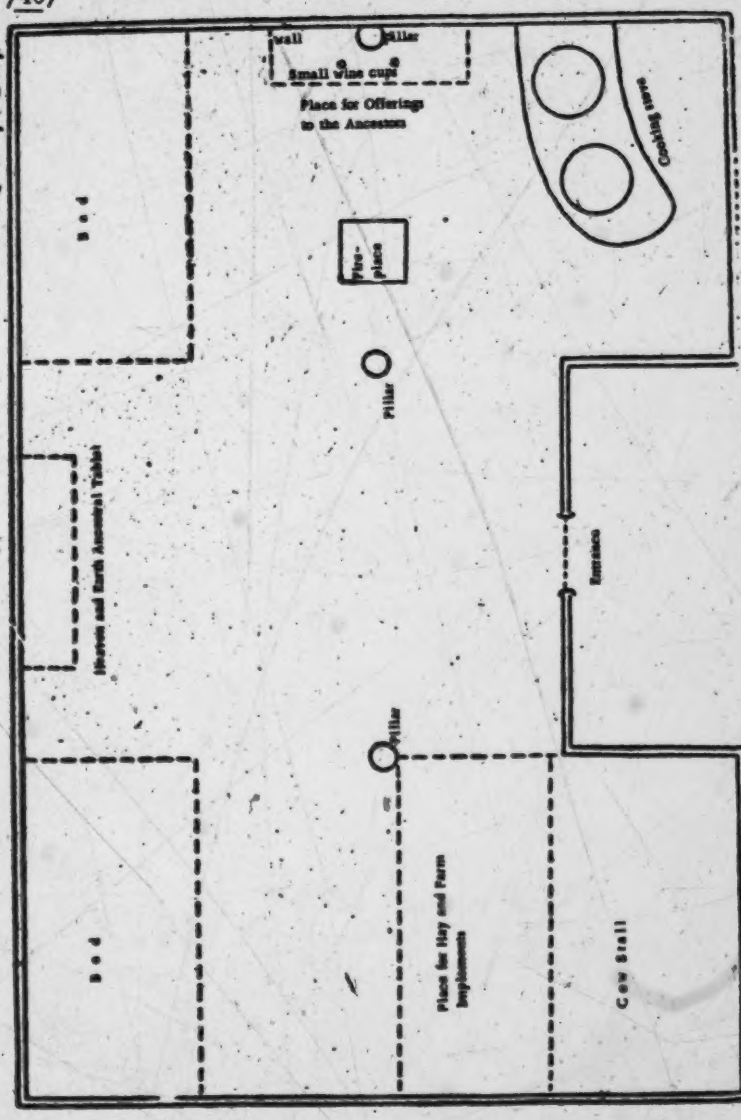

Illustration 15. Plan of a three-room-type house of a Lang family among the Miao

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(4) Funerals

764 The funeral rites of the Miao today, like their marriage
[177] rites, have been greatly influenced by the Chinese. Their old
[113] funeral customs were different from those of today. Volume
40 of Hunan Tung Chih /Geographical Encyclopedia of Hunan
(1885)/: "At the time of burial the Miao also know how to cry
and weep, but they do not use burial gowns nor coffins, nor
do they wear coarse hemp mourning garments. When a man
[787] dies, a site is selected by divination with bamboo splints, and
there a hole three or four ch'ih deep is dug, which is lined
with wooden planks. The corpse is placed in the hole and
765 covered with earth. Three days later, the deceased's family
slaughters an animal to invite the relatives to eat and drink.
769 In the second month of the following year they make sacrificial
782 offerings of animals and paper money: for the sons place their
offerings on the left, the daughters on the right according to
custom. This is done every year for three years and no more.
They do not have the custom of sweeping the tomb each year.
765 The newly bereaved family is condoled with gifts of local
products by relatives and friends. The host family slaughters
a cow and sets up a meal. This is called 'seeing off the
764 mourners.'" Volume 11 of Lung-shan Hsien Chih /Gazetteer
[113] of Lung-shan Hsien (1878)/ states: "When a Miao dies, wooden
planks are put on the bed, and the corpse is placed on them.
Men and women weep loudly around him; relatives /clansmen
and by marriage?/ come to offer condolences, bringing various
cereals, joining sadly in the weeping. Piling up rocks and earth
they build a grave mound, but only where the head lies they
do not pile up rocks and earth so as not to crush it. After three
765 days they slaughter an animal and make a sacrifice at the tomb,
782 in which all the relatives participate, leaving after being
wined and dined. In the second month of the following year,
769 sacrifices are offered at home. Afterward men and women
[782] disappear into mountain caves, which is called 'warding off
disaster.'"

/130 cont./

*782 177 Among the 24 ceremonies of sacrifice to the kuei of the guest religion, the "Local Divinity of the Soil" and "Flying Mountain" are routine sacrifices, and the rest may be performed for multiple entreaties. The following is a presentation in separate divisions of the various sacrifices to kuei in both the Miao and guest religions.

1. Miao Religion

(1) Sacrifice to the Ancestors

•769 *782 The sacrifice to the ancestors, called [ɕiˊ ɕioŋˊ] in the Miao language, is performed generally once a year in every family, but sometimes once every few years, after the autumn harvest. In the event of a death, it must be performed not later than within five or six days after the death. The kuei invoked are called [ɕioŋ/ lioˀ ɕioŋˊ koˀ]. The place for the sacrifice is beside the fire pit inside the house and the time is in the early morning. They set up a winnowing basket in which are placed five bowls of wine, five bowls of meat, with the rest of the space filled with pa-pa.[1] The winnowing basket is laid down on the left side of the fire pit, and a bowl of beeswax and a bamboo tube on the right. The Miao Sorcerer sits facing the fire pit, beating the bamboo tube with his right hand, uttering incantations, the general idea of which is as follows:

"The fifth and the sixth months has already gone by; the ninth and the tenth months have arrived. In the loaded fields the five grains have ripened. They carry the grain back home, the men on their shoulders with a pole and the women on their backs. They cannot eat it all; they invited me to come. I brought soldiers and horses to fill this house; I am burning beeswax, beating the bamboo tube, and have prepared the wine, meat, pa-pa, and paper money. I beg you kuei to receive them, but hold them for the time being without eating them!"

769 787 At this point he ceases to beat the bamboo tube and with a pair of chiao-tzu (1) divines the fortunes of the whole family

[1] [Li - maize baked into a crust - ANALYST]

/130 cont./

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1. Chiao-tzu, an implement of divination which is made from two bamboo splints. The character chiao as written here is not found in any /Chinese/ books on etymology. It is probably a miswriting of the character chiao in pei-chiao /an implement of divination/; four other characters with the same sound are also used for it. The method of divining with chiao is: The sides looking up of the two chiao are the yang chiao, the sides looking down are the yin chiao, and one side looking up and one looking down are the sheng /"excellent"/ chiao.

one by one. /131/ Yang chiao (both chiao looking down) signifies wealth; yin chiao (both chiao looking down) signifies sickness and calamity. Sheng ("excellent," also written with the homonym meaning "holy") (1) chiao (one chiao looking

1. Ch'eng Ta-ch'ang (Sung dynasty), Yen Fan Lu: "...sheng chiao, one looking up, one looking down." Yeh Meng-te, Shih Lin Yen Yü: "One looking down, one looking up are sheng /"holy"/ chiao."

769 /131 cont./

[787] down, one looking up) indicates nothing is going to happen. At the same time he utters the following incantation:

769 "The five bowls of meat and the five bowls of wine as
*782 well as all the pa-pa in the winnowing basket are all offered to the ancestors, and we beg you to eat!"

At this point the host burns the paper money to send off the kuei, and the sorcerer-priest continues the incantation:

"You have now eaten up the wine and meat. Now we are burning paper money for you! Before being burned it is paper but after being burned it becomes money. Divide it equally among you. Please go back and be good kuei and do not think of coming among mortals. In this world, in the morning and night when we eat our meals, we shall call you. When called, then please come. If, in your spirit /yin/ world, you know of our calamities, please do your best to help us."

[787] On finishing the incantation he divines for a second time with the chiao-tzu, and when he gets the yin chiao, then the performance is considered finished. While performing the sacrifice to the ancestors, the sorcerer-priest remains seated from beginning to end. When the ancestral sacrifice is performed because of a death
[777] in the family, then a basin of water is used, in which all members of the family must wash their hands in order to remove bad luck. The wine, meat, and the pa-pa for the sacrifice are eaten by the family and the sorcerer-priest. Whatever remains is given to the sorcerer-priest to take back with him.

(2) Eating Pigs

*782 "Eating pigs" is called /kueŋ mbaʌ/ in the Miao language,
[769] which means the "kuei"of pigs." It is the great sacrificial cere-
[774] mony of the Miao, which honors the grandparents and the house kuei
[790] as well as the thunder kuei. From beginning to end it is performed for four days and is divided into 14 parts. For this occasion four pigs are prepared beforehand as well as a number of chin of water-buffalo meat. The beef is cooked, and cut into slices, which are

/131 cont./

*782 strung together in strings /skewers?/ of meat. There are 14 strings of seven slices each and 18 strings of nine slices each. The relatives by marriage, of a different surname, i.e. the mother's family and the wife's family, are invited to the function beforehand; and the mother's brother or the wife's maternal uncle are considered to belong to the lower generation for the ceremony.

On the first night the first part is performed, which they call the opening of the affair. A large table is set up in the middle of the house. On it are placed five bowls of wine and five bowls of meat, one bowl of sour soup, one plate of cut-up beef, and a wooden bucket on which is placed a dried rice shoot. [788] The sorcerer-priest's performance consists of first setting off firecrackers, next blowing a signal horn, and last beating a gong and drum, which is the end.

/132/ The second, third, fourth, fifth, and sixth parts are performed on the second day. In the morning the second part [769] [776] is performed, which is the sacrifice to the grandparents and the house kuei. A small table is placed outside the main entrance. On it is placed an upper millstone upside down. A wooden bucket is placed on the stone, and on it are put a knife, two dried rice shoots, a few shoots of cow grass, and a sheaf of t'u-t'ou pai-yeh. There is also a tray with five cups of wine and a certain number of slices of cut-up beef. No beeswax is burned and the sorcerer-priest only utters an incantation and that is all.

[776] [263] The third part is the sacrifice to the thunder kuei. It is very important not to eat any salt, because of the Miao superstition that the thunder kuei is very much afraid of salt. (1)

1. See "Myths about the Flood, 1 and 2" in the chapter, "Legends." 1/A

A large table is also set outside the fire entrance /? huo men/ and under it are put a hoe, rain clothes, and a plow. Moreover, on the table is put a tile, in the center of which are put a few small lumps of charcoal on which to burn the beeswax. Then

1/A [this chapter has not been translated - ANALYST]

/151 cont./

*782 783 sorcer-priest holds the chiao and rings the bell, standing in front of the table, and the words of the incantation he utters are to the following effect:

[769] "Now we have prepared well wine, meat, a cock, pa-pa, tofu, green cloth, clean water, and ready money to cleanse the house. First we invoke the ancestors of the host. When you hear my call, please hurry down and receive the objects of sacrifice. Next we invoke the ancestors of the previous tenant. The host, fearing that he may not be at peace here, has asked me to come to cleanse the house. I have come with many soldiers and horses. With water I cleanse the house, first cleanse the fire bed, next the fire pit. I cleanse the right and the left of the house; I cleanse the front and the back doors. After I have cleansed three times, the host may live in it with great prosperity, resources abundant, prosperous harvests of the five grains, and the increase of the six kinds of domestic animals. The trouble-making kuei have now been sent out the door, hereafter peace will be everlasting."

[787] After the incantation has been completed, he then divines with the chiao. If either the yang chiao or the sheng chiao appears, it is auspicious, and paper is burned to send off the kuei. But if the yin chiao appears, then the incantation has to be said again, until he divines and gets either the yang chiao or the sheng chiao, when it is the end. After the sorcerer-priest has completed his performance, he drinks the wine on the table and takes the cock, meat, pa-pa, tofu, green cloth, and copper yuan offered in sacrifice to the kuei, home with him.

[152/ (10) Cleansing the Cat

[825] The Miao consider that a cat dying in the house is an ill omen, and it is then necessary to ask a sorcerer-priest to purify the house in order to expel harmful emanations. In Miao this is called

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

were burned, gunpowder charges were set off, and feathers and inscriptions stuck on the front of the shrine. 796 782

The second time a rooster was killed on a stone in the open space near House 7, and three fires were built there, upon which the men of the village prepared a feast for themselves. The children, who are always welcome, whether invited or not, also came. Over one fire the chicken was cooked, over a second the broth of fresh bean curd, and over the third a broth of pork. At the shrines they burned incense and spirit money, set off firecrackers, and stuck on chicken feathers and inscriptions. This time I found a straw image of a man about eight inches long, with white paper about the trunk and upper arms, and a chicken feather stuck in the paper lying along the right arm. It was lying at the entrance to the village on the east with the legs toward the village. 527

Ch'ing Ming.[4] This is the Chinese festival at which ancestral graves are repaired and decorated with a bamboo pole which has leaves and white paper streamers at the top. It is stuck into the peak of the grave mound. Offerings are made and the family have a picnic at the graves. This festival comes almost exactly at the time of our Easter. 796 527 769

The people of this village celebrated for two or three days, according, as they told me, to the few or many deaths during the preceding year. I was there for one of these festivals. The first day the people of Shang-sai killed a pig and prepared the feast, but all contributed toward it or bought a share of the meat, and all the village except the Chinese family partook of it. The feast was held in the sheltered place at which the girls built their fires at New Year's time. The chief grave was decorated, charges of gunpowder were set off in groups of three, and an offering was made to these graves before the people ate. With the exception of a few women who sat together at the entrance to the wood, all ate together at this one place. The women

[4] A solar period at which the Chinese worship at graves — roughly corresponds to our Easter time, April 5–17.

[5] Ripening grain, one of the twenty-four Chinese festivals. It usually occurs during the fourth month

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

put on good clothing for this, even the tiny girls being dressed in tribal costume. The second day Hsia-sai killed the pig and prepared the feast, which was eaten in the village. The next year I was away. Upon my return they told me that they had celebrated for three days and that one of the feasts was eaten on the threshing floor in front of the "new house," whose kitchen had been used for the cooking.

Our family also had a private Ch'ing Ming at their group of tombs. All the men and boys of the family and some from families who lived near by went to this place, which is to the west of the village and on a piece of high ground. They spent nearly all afternoon there repairing one of the grave mounds by cleaning up around it and putting new pieces of sod on it. Some prayers were chanted, a chicken was killed, and gunpowder charges were set off, first three, then two, then one. The powder was carried in the horn of a bull, not water buffalo. That evening they had a feast in their home to which they invited the members of those other families and me. The old man, his son, his grandson, the oldest daughter, and the nephews sat around one fire, four men from the other families and one woman, the two wives of the old man and his younger daughter, the oldest sons of the two nephews, and I around another, and the rest of the family around a third. We had dishes of noodles and chicken, beef and a vegetable, chicken and pork, and bean curd soup.

Hsiao Mang.[5] This was not observed particularly by the Chinese in Lung-li. The villagers held a feast, for which they made bean curd and colored glutinous rice — yellow, orange, blue, green, red, and purple. This, mixed with the black variety, they ate for some time after the festival, too. Finally what was left was sunned and parched. It was as good as popcorn.

Tuan Yang.[6] In the village they had a feast. In Lung-li the Chinese also prepared special food.

according to the lunar calendar. (A solar period from May 21–June 4.)

[6] The day of the Dragon Boat festival, the fifth day of the fifth month according to the lunar calendar.

house erected for the god for the special purpose of guarding the village gate, such as the Chinese earth buddha. This is known among the Miao-I as the village god who maintains peace and security for the entire population of the village. Every sixth day of the sixth moon the village makes a public sacrifice to this god. 776 796

(4) The Tree God. The Miao-I people always plant trees at the back of their village. The woods thus formed is known as the "Rear Dragon", and there the biggest tree is chosen as the tree god. The villagers dare not touch a blade of grass or a twig of wood in the woods. If inadvertently one picks up something and becomes sick, one is said to have offended the tree god. Every year on the head-dragon day of the second moon the villagers would build a straw pavilion before the tree god as an altar for sacrifice, and the sacrificial ritual is led by the Kwei-shih. All villagers participate in the ceremony, bringing meat and rice as gifts.

/91/ (5) The Buffalo King and the Horse King. Near the larger Miao-I villages in the hsien area there are low huts built for the buffalo king and the horse king, whom the Miao-I worship diligently because they look after the welfare of the cattle in the village. The eleventh day of the tenth moon is set aside for the worship of the buffalo king; and the twenty-third day of the sixth moon, for the horse king. The sacrifice is made with a cock and a pig's head. If there is sickness among the cattle in the village, then the cure is effected by sacrificing good meat, paper and candles before the respective gods.

(6) The Spirit Tablet. The Miao-I have adopted the Chinese custom of ancestral worship, placing in the family hall, no matter how small and ugly, a wooden tablet, on which are pasted words such as "the Seat of the Heaven and Earth Lord", "So-and-so's Ancestral Seat", and others. 769

be in charge that year through a system of rotation would collect ten cents from each family for the purpose of purchasing chicken, duck, beancurd, paper money, incense, candles and colored paper. With the paper they make little triangular flags and stick them on the gate. The Kwei-shih would carry a long knife in the right hand and a dragon-head cane in the left, and followed by a man carrying a chicken and a duck, would descend upon each household, wielding the sword and shouting: 796 791

I come not your money to clear,
Nor your rice I level;
Surely I come not to take your lady dear,
But I sweep off the devil --
To the western area.

After the ceremony all family members crowd around the Kwei-shih as they move out of the village to a three-forked road in the west. Tossing the dragon-head cane onto the ground, the Kwei-shih burns it up with lighted papers and candles. Then, after killing the chicken and the duck, he sprinkles the blood on the road. The chicken and duck are cooked together with beancurd and other foodstuffs in a huge cauldron and eaten by the villagers on the roadside.

(8) The Chia Performance. When a person dies among the Hua Miao, the rest of the family would pray to him for their safety and health. If the years after his death prove prosperous to the family, then on passing the thirteenth year its members would perform Chia or the great Chai, involving the sacrifice of a buffalo in his memory. If at that time the family does not have the means to make a sacrifice, then the Kwei-shih may be invited to respectfully inform the deceased person of a postponement of the sacrificial date. Before performing Chia 769

769 the family must buy a buffalo way ahead of the date so that it can grow fat for the occasion. On the vacant ground outside the village a small straw pavilion is erected as the altar of sacrifice. The offspring of the deceased would lead the buffalo to the altar, and waving a large butcher's knife, shout several times: "Let no one rob our buffalo!" Inside the pavilion, incense and candles are lit and placed alongside such sacrificial items as chicken and duck. Standing beside the straw pavilion, the Kwei-shih would pray to the dead: "Your descendants so-and-so send you a buffalo and wish you would watch over them always." The man then brings the butcher's knife upon the buffalo's head. If the animal is killed with one stroke, then the greatest luck would attend the household. The head of the buffalo is placed in the pavilion as a sacrifice and the beef is cooked in a huge cauldron. Those friends and relations, who have come with five measures of rice and one jar of wine as gifts, now partake of the feast. After it is over, each one carries home three pieces of beef on a pointed bamboo stick.

751 847 (9) Hong Ma and Hong Pa. In the Miao-I village one often sees abandoned butchered children lying around. The heads and legs of these dead children are severed with a kitchen knife by their own parents, the same knife thrown beside the body with blood strewn all over, - the whole presenting a gruesome spectacle. This happened because the dead child's parents had brought to this world several sons who had died of the same illness, and so they believed that an evil spirit must have possessed them and been reborn several times to "hong ma and hong pa" (to deceive the parents). Therefore, this child is now decapitated and slaughtered so that the headless and limbless spirit of vengeance would not be able to come to

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

769 Filial piety is the cardinal virtue and one of the main duties of a child is to commemorate and make offerings to his departed ancestors. All the memorial festivals but one are for this purpose and in all the seasonal festivals or those that come on regular dates throughout the year, offerings are made to the ancestors and they are commemorated in the usual way.

421 All property, such as tools, weapons, furniture, domestic animals, money, houses and fields, belongs to the family and after the death of the parents, when the family is broken up, it is divided among the sons of the deceased. Such things as clothing and personal ornaments belong to individuals.

671 Among the Ch'uan Miao there are no written laws. The customs and habits of the group are the laws and what is customary is right. Crimes are infractions against the customs or mores of the group.

619 622 There is no tribal organization. That is, there is no political organization that extends throughout the entire ethnic group. A locality may elect a headman, called a gy lAu or old club, and the headmen of several different districts may cooperate for the general good, but the headmen are not bound together by an organization affecting the entire Ch'uan Miao region. If the Ch'uan Miao are a tribe, it is because they are physically related and have a common language, common customs, common ideals, and a common culture. These bind the people together more securely than could any political organization.

627 Minor offences may be settled between the two persons concerned. When this cannot be accomplished, the families of the two persons endeavor to solve the difficulty. In more weighty and difficult matters, the local headmen or a number of the older people of the district are called in. It is said that only one or two per cent of the worst cases are taken to the Chinese courts. The reasons are not far to seek. Litigation in Chinese courts is expensive and a Miao, since he is a member of a different race, is likely to be discriminated against. In addition he is at a disadvantage because he cannot read Chinese characters.

681 An offence or a grievance may be settled or recompensed for by the gift of a chicken, a duck, a pig, a goat or sheep, a cow, or some other object. Sometimes a beating is administered and sometimes the death penalty is exacted. It may be carried out by throwing the guilty party over a cliff or down a natural pit into the earth.

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

765 descendants in every way. Animals are killed with the idea that a life must be given but the life of the animal becomes a living creature that can be used in the other world by the ancestor. Such sacrifices are not atonements for sin.

These memorial festivals are taken very seriously by the Ch'uan Miao. They believe that people must not imitate these festivals in play, and certainly not ridicule them. The ancestors will surely take the life of a cow or water-buffalo that is offered in pretence.

Twelve days after the funeral there is a memorial festival called in Chinese *sao ch'ieh* and in Ch'uan Miao a'gi or *a'si*. The ceremonial drum is not used and the bull is not sacrificed. There is no music of the *liu shêng* or beating of drums or singing of songs.

At this time, the spirit is supposed to come back and visit his former home. Ashes are sprinkled outside the front door and the friends and relatives later look in the ashes for footprints. By the footprints it can be learned whether the person is now a grown human being, or a child, or has been transformed into a fowl, a horse, a dog, or some other creature. A cock is killed and offered in a raw state to the spirit. Then it is cooked, other food is added, and the relatives and friends have a feast. This festival is observed for parents, or for brothers or sisters over three years of age.

769 At a later date there is a memorial service called in Chinese *tso chai* 做齋 and in Ch'uan Miao a vang. It must take place not less than one year after the *sao ch'ieh*, and generally takes place two or three years later, but may be delayed ten or more years if this is made necessary by poverty. Friends and relatives march in procession to the grave (some families do not go to the grave but observe the entire ceremony in the home), beating gongs and drums and playing the *liu shêng*. In this way the soul of the dead is enticed back home. Generally a cow or a water-buffalo or rarely a pig is killed and offered to the ancestor, then it is cooked and eaten by relatives and friends. This ceremony is performed for older brothers or sisters and for ancestors for three generations. The ceremonial drum and the *liu shêng* are used in this ceremony.

775 After death a woman carries on her back a grass mat and a man carries on his back a wide, round, shallow winnowing basket called a *po chi* 簸箕 made of bamboo and about two and half feet in diameter. These are burdensome to the souls of the dead, since they make it impossible for them to enter the palace in the level country of Nts[illegible]. The ancestors are released from these burdens during the *tso chai* ceremony and then go happily away to God's flat land where they can enter the palace and visit their ancestors.

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

There is a legend that in former times a Miao group or tribe cal' d Hmoŋ Kw'a were accustomed to kill their parents when they had become old and eat them and that their parents were glad to have them do so. It is said that the Ch'ing Miao 青苗 still call themselves Hmoŋ Kw'a and are probably the descendants of that ancient group. It is asserted that during the *tso chai* ceremony the descendants take bread or rice cakes and with their hands mould the cakes into human form, then place them in a bamboo bowl. The *liu shêng* is played, a cow, pig, sheep or chicken is killed as an offering, and after the offering is made the image is cut up and eaten. This is thought to be a continuance of the old custom of eating the parent. It is done very secretly for a Chinese or some other person might ask for an explanation and it would be difficult to give an acceptable reply. 769

Later, after an indefinite period there is a ceremony called in Chinese *ch'ao chien* 超荐, and in Chuan Miao tsa moŋ. The custom is to dig up the corpse, throw away or burn up the old coffin, carefully wash the bones, place a new coffin in the old or in a new grave and new garments in the coffin, arrange the bones in their natural order on top of the clothing, carefully fold the edges of the clothing over the bones, put the lid on the coffin, and cover the coffin with dirt. This is still performed by many Ch'uan Miao. It is noteworthy that the same custom, which is rapidly disappearing, is found among the Chinese in Fukien Province. 765

It is thought that because the dead person cannot turn over, he or she becomes very tired and uncomfortable. After from three to ten years the corpse is dug up. The bones are washed with "fire wine" 火酒, then they are rubbed with mustard oil. If the bones are black, the burial place is not good and the corpse must be reburied in a new place else the descendants will not prosper. If the bones are yellow or white, the place is lucky and the reburial should be in the same spot, and the descendants will prosper. During this ceremony the demon drum is used, the *liu shêng* is played to the accompaniment of dancing and appropriate songs are sung. A cow or a pig is sacrificed and there are offerings to the ancestors and a feast. Sometimes the person presiding, called mo, places in a bamboo basket a chopstick for each deceased ancestor and during the ceremony hangs the basket on a beam of the house. The results of this ceremony are that the deceased ancestor who is reburied is comfortable and the descendants have less illness and prosper. [775]

I have been told by a Miao living at Chou Chia Kou 周家溝 that in that locality they no longer dig up the coffin, wash the bones and provide a new coffin and clothing but that instead they make a tiny wooden coffin and garments only a few inches long and burn these with paper or spirit money in the

9: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

I. REPETITIONS WHILE MAKING OFFERING AT THE NEW YEAR'S TIME

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The year is ended. The night of the twelfth moon and the thirtieth day has come. The dead ancestors are invited to come and eat rice biscuits. I give the rice biscuits to the ancestors with my own hands.

When the rice biscuits have been eaten, you must go and remove diseases and remove calamities and remove pains and remove quarrels and remove sins. You must leave them on the roads of the Lolo and the Chinese. You must add to the strength of your descendants so we can go and sow. You must add to their power so they can make clearings in the wilderness, so that your descendants will have food and clothing. Then you will have meat to eat and wine to drink and your descendants will sacrifice to three generations of female and male ancestors.

You come first (and eat). Now I will make the offerings with my (own) hands. Come and eat. Now I will invite my own ancestors of three generations with all the dead relatives of three generations, all to come together and eat.

(When he has spoken to this place, he must invite them to come and eat, beginning with the oldest, calling each of them by name, until he has reached his own parents (if they are dead). He must certainly mention them by name one by one and give food to each one. When he is through making the offerings, then he may eat himself. The husband is always invited first, then the wife, then another male).

II. WORDS REPEATED AT NEW YEAR'S TIME, ON THE FIRST DAY OF THE YEAR WHILE MAKING OFFERINGS

First a pot of new rice must be cooked. Fresh water and new tea leaves must be used to make tea. First tea must be offered to the ancestors. When the tea has been offered then they offer rice and meat. He repeats the following while making the offerings.

The first day of the new year has come. Your descendants have cooked new rice. The new year will become ten thousand years (for the descendants). We offer to you a wooden spoon (in which food is given) so you can eat the new year meal. xau lo xai (come and eat and drink). Let the female and male ancestors of three generations come together to eat the New Year feast. xau lo xai. When you have eaten, you must come and increase the strength of your descendants so that they can plow and sow the fields and the mountain wildernesses so that they can have food. If they have food and clothes then we will first make offerings to

9: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

the three generations of female and male ancestors. xAu lo-xai. When you have eaten, you must come and add many domestic animals and cause the crops to grow and cause the old forests and the uncultivated hills to grow (trees and grass), and cause many sons to be born and many grandsons. When the descendants have planted their crops, and made clearings in the wilderness, you must cause your descendants to get things to eat and drink and they will first make offerings to the three generations of female and male ancestors. xAu lo xai.

(When he has repeated to this point, he calls the names of the ancestors, one by one, beginning with the oldest, inviting them to come and eat and offering them food to eat. Sometimes the offerings are thrown on the ground, sometimes they are placed in a bowl on a table. Always the male is called on first, then his wife, then another male of a nearer generation.)

III. OFFERING WINE ON NEW YEAR'S DAY TO ANCESTORS

My grandmother and my grandfather, to-day is the first day of the New Year. My three generations of female and male ancestors have come to drink New Year's wine. When you have drunk wine, you must lead your descendants forth to be scholars and civil officials and lead them to be military officials. After that you must look after your descendants so that they can raise many domestic animals. When you have drunk, you must make their descendants very numerous. You must cause the sons and grandsons to have food and drink. You must cause the descendants to accomplish so that they have meat to eat and wine to drink. Then they will first come and make offerings to you three generations of female and male ancestors so that you will all come and get (wine) to drink. When you have drunk and gone you must not nourish diseases (lest they come and injure us). You must not nourish groans, you must not nourish quarrels, you must not nourish crimes, but let the descendants farm and get food and drink. They will first make offerings to the female and male ancestors of three generations so that they may come together and drink.

(When he has spoken up to this point, then he must mention the three generations of female and male ancestors and invite them to come and make offerings to them, from the oldest even including his own sons and daughters who are dead. When he has finished these offerings the living descendants may eat breakfast.)

9: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

IV. OFFERINGS ON THE THIRD DAY OF THE NEW YEAR

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My grandmother and my grandfather, the third day of the New Year has arrived. The three generations of female and male ancestors have already been here three days. The big hill is trampled down (i.e., the grass, from the people enjoying themselves on the hills). Now we invite you to come and eat the biscuits you have left over. I am going to report to you so that you may depart. You will return to your places and stand among the reeds and sit among the flowers. You go and dig up grass roots to nourish your lips (to eat). You must go still more and dig up grass roots and roots of reeds to nourish your bodies. Now you have eaten. You must go and carry away illnesses (for the descendants). You must go and carry away pains, you must go and carry away quarrels, and you must go and fill up the pits of illness and fill up the pits of groans and fill up the pits of quarrels and you must also go and collect all kinds of pain and illness. When you have collected them you must increase the strength of your descendants to farm, open clearings in the wilderness and cut down deep forests. You must cause your descendants to have food to eat, then they will make offerings to you three generations of female and male ancestors. You have eaten. You must wait the year and month when you should come and then we will invite you to come and eat meat and eat rice. You have eaten, so go. If you become hungry you can in a dream at night imitate rain and wind as a sign (and we will know that you are hungry). (This is regarded as such an omen by the Chinese.) You must not come as a sickness or a pain and injure us lest your descendants have to eat wild berries behind the house (because of hunger) and become unable to make offerings to you. Please come and drink (wine) and when you are through drinking return to your place and come back at *tuan yang* 端陽.

V. TEA MUST BE OFFERED ON THE SAME DAY (THE THIRD DAY OF THE FIRST MOON)

It is the morning of the third day of the New Year. People are through playing on both the large and the small mountains. When the remaining biscuits are all eaten up you must drink tea. When you are through drinking tea, I will inform you that you must go to your country and dig reed roots to nourish your mouths and dig up grass roots with which to nourish your bodies. When you have drunk tea, you must go and remove calamities, sickness, quarrels, and bad things. You must increase the strength of your descendants so that they can farm, so that they will have strength to climb mountains like wild pheasants running, and

9: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

go down hill like black snakes. When you have drunk it you must increase the strength of your descendants so they can go and farm. When they do their farming, do not let the grasshoppers eat it or white insects cut it off. Let your descendants have clothes and food. They will first make offerings to the female and male ancestors for three generations.

Now we want to invite the deceased ancestors all to come together and eat. When you are through eating, I will determine for you that you must wait until the fifth moon at *tuan yang* before we will again make offerings to you.

VI. OFFERINGS AT TUAN YANG 端陽 IN THE FIFTH MOON

My grandmother and my grandfather, to-day is the fifth moon feast, *tuan yang*. We invite you female and male ancestors for three generations to all come together and eat the *tuan yang* meal. xai, xai, xai.

When you have eaten it, cause your descendants to be students and civil officials. When you have drunk, go and cause them to be soldiers. When you have eaten, cause the domestic animals of your descendants to be very numerous. When you have eaten, cause your descendants to multiply and cause your descendants to have clothing and food and drink. They will then first make offerings to their female and male ancestors for three generations so they can come and drink. When you have eaten, you go. If you are thirsty, you change to wind and rain and come first and come and reveal it to us. Do not become severe illnesses and come to injure us. You must protect your descendants so they will have food and drink before they can make offerings to you. Xai, xai, xai. (We are making offerings for you to eat).

(When this has been repeated to this place, the officiator must call by name, as before described, the departed ancestors for three generations).

VII. THE OFFERINGS AT THE CEREMONY OF EATING NEW GRAIN

Xai, xai, xai. We are making offerings to our female and male ancestors of three generations. Your descendants have harvested their crops and have not yet tasted them and to-day is a propitious day. We will first come and make offerings for you female and male ancestors for three generations to all come together and eat. When you have eaten them, you all come together and eat (the) new (grain). When you have eaten, you go and remove quarrels, add to the power of your descendants to do farming, and make clearings in the deep forests. Let your descendants have

9: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

796 food and drink and they will first come and make offerings to you. Let them farm and have food and drink and they will come forward again and make offerings to the female 769 and male descendants for three generations before you can have things to drink.

(The names of the dead ancestors for three generations must be repeated and each called upon to come and eat and drink, as in previous ceremonies).

VIII. OFFERINGS TO DEPARTED ANCESTORS WHEN A GIRL IS BEING GIVEN AWAY IN MARRIAGE

769 Now we are giving a daughter away in marriage. The girl's family has brought meat and wine. They have prepared 585 much meat so that it fills up a bowl. The wine is good and the bubbles stick to the cups. Much meat has been prepared 782 and it has filled up a bowl. The bubbles of the wine float about and then stick to the sides of the cup. The descendants have not yet eaten or drunk. We will first come forward and make offerings to the female and male ancestors for three generations. When you have eaten, you must go and remove quarrels and also remove the stupid sons who are by the wayside and remove the crazy men who are by the roadside. You must increase the strength of your descendants so they can do farming and nourish their sons and daughters. In the future, your descendants will bring meat and wine and then they will first make offerings to you and then you will be able to eat and drink. Let my female and male ancestors for three generations all come together and drink. Large and small, old and young, who have formerly died, come together and drink. xAu lo xai.

(The ancestors must all be called upon by name and invited to eat and drink as described previously).

IX. OFFERINGS AT THE HOME OF THE GROOM WHEN THE BRIDE ARRIVES

xAu lo xai. To-day we are marrying a bride for our son. We have prepared the meat and the rice but we have not yet eaten. We will first come and make offerings to you. When you have eaten you must increase the strength of your descendants so they can farm. You must also add to the strength of your descendants so they can nourish their sons and daughters, and have sons and grandsons. Afterwards the sons and grandsons will also have sons and grandsons so in the future they will have great power and they will have food and drink and in the future when the marriage day arrives, they will prepare wine and meat and when they have prepared it they will not eat and drink it but will first make offerings to the female and male ancestors of three generations so they can first eat.

9: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

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(As usual, the ancestors for three generations are called by name in succession according to age and invited to eat and offered the food. After this, the tables are set and the descendants and guests eat).

X. OFFERINGS AFTER A PERSON HAS DIED

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You (mentions his name), you cannot come to life again as a person. You are a living demon. I have prepared wine nine times for you to drink (so you can drink nine times). Your meat is cooked. I am offering meat for you to eat. If you cannot eat it all, you must not give it to a sick demon (that causes sickness) to eat or a death demon (that causes death). You must give it to your female and male ancestors for three generations to eat. When you have eaten it, you should go and be near the clothing and belt of your grandmother and the clothing and belt of your husband's grandfather. If the Lolo are many, your grandmother will help you look after them. If the Chinese are numerous, she will also help you look after them. Now the meat is done. You cannot become alive again as a human being. You are living as a demon. Now I have prepared nine cups of wine and nine bowls of meat for you to eat. I am offering meat and rice for you to eat. If you cannot eat it all up, do not give it to the demons of death to eat. If you cannot eat it all, you must offer it to your female and male ancestors for three generations to eat. When you have eaten, you go and get near your husband's grandmother's clothing and get into your husband's grandfather's clothing. If the Lolo are numerous (in Hades) your husband's grandmother will look after them for you. If the Chinese are many, your husband's grandfather will look after them for you. Now I have already offered you nine cups of wine nine times to drink. I will now release you to go on the old road. You must go to Ntsɔ's dwelling in heaven and live there.

(When the above has been repeated, the bamboo divining sticks are used and the name of the deceased person is called. The divining sticks indicate whether the deceased is pleased or not. If not more offerings are made until the deceased soul is satisfied.)

XI. THE OFFERINGS AT THE SAO CH'IEN CEREMONY (ON THE TWELFTH DAY AFTER THE BURIAL) (THIS CEREMONY IS IN THE HOME)

Xai, xai, xai. Yesterday you (the deceased) deceived the demons. You came back to-day instead. (The burial reckons as the first day. On the 12th. (the 11th.) the dead person deceives the demons into thinking he will come back. He actually returns on the 12th. day, counted the 13th. Have you come back to find your bed and bedding? I prepared

10: Graham E-5 (1921-?) 1954 AE5 Miao AE5

engagement is made. There is generally no love between the bride and the groom unless it is after marriage. Love affairs, which are many, are often between a man and another man's wife or between a woman and another woman's husband. Sometimes lovers run away together, after which go-betweens endeavor to obtain the consent of the bride's parents, and the gift to her parents must be made as usual. Marriage by capture is not unknown. Strange to say, women rather like this method, for it shows that the man loves or esteems the woman, and it often results in a happy marriage.

There are no physicians, although some persons are reputed to know more about medicines and healing than others, and the efficacy of the medicines has not yet been scientifically investigated. The common belief is that all diseases and other calamities are caused by demons, which must be exorcised by the *do nun* or *tuan kung*, who is a magician or shaman. He has a formula for every disease, and besides using ceremonies and incantations to exorcise the demons that cause diseases or other calamities, he performs many real wonders, among which are treading with bare feet on a red-hot plowshare and touching his tongue to the same, spitting or spurting hot oil out of his mouth onto a fire to cause a larger blaze, and with bare feet walking over a ladder of sharp swords. It is not strange that the death rate among the Ch'uan Miao is very high.

The Ch'uan Miao theory of filial piety and of the relation of mutual helpfulness between the deceased ancestors and their descendants corresponds fairly closely to that of the Chinese. The deceased ancestors are believed to be in need of the same things that they need on this earth before death, such as food, clothing, houses, and money, and these are provided by the loyal descendants through the ceremonial offerings. In return the ancestors help and protect their descendants so that they may prosper.

Soon after death the *mo* or priest three times calls on the soul of the dead to return or arise, and when it does not do so he performs a ceremony to open the way of the soul of the deceased to Hades, or to paradise, which is called the ancient level land of Ntzī, the supreme but not the only god. The priest kills a rooster, and the soul of the rooster leads the soul of the dead person to paradise.

Some time after the *mo* has opened the way for the soul of the deceased to go to paradise, there is a procession. In front is a man whirling a stick. He is followed by two men playing the *liu sheng* and dancing, then two blowing water-buffalo horns, two carrying green bamboo twigs, and finally two men with guns. Inside the house a ceremonial drum is beaten. This ceremony is symbolic of the fact that in ancient times their ancestors lived in the forest where there were dangerous wild animals.

During the funeral ceremonies a bull or a male water buffalo is killed and partly cooked, and some or all of it is offered to the ancestors. Then the meat is thoroughly cooked and there is a feast. Friends and relatives enjoy the feast, but the descendants of the deceased do not then eat any of the meat.

Generally on the next night after the bull is killed a dance is performed by the strongest young men inside the house. It takes place in front of the ceremonial

10: Graham E-5 (1921-?)/954 AE5 Miao AE5

impersonate cows and pretend to fight and to cause the death of six. Women rub soot onto the men's faces until they are black. A woman carries a dummy child which is beaten to pieces. There is much fun and laughter. 765

There is also a ceremony performed about once in three years making offerings to the souls of deceased domestic animals.

In addition, there is the ceremony of eating new grain, and there are at least 11 calendar festivals which in date, method of conducting the ceremonies, and purpose correspond very closely to those of the Chinese.

RELIGION

One can easily get the impression that the Ch'uan Miao have no religion, and they themselves sometimes confirm this impression. They have no religious organizations, no organized priesthood, no temples, and no visible gods. It is my opinion, however, that they are a very religious people. Through their daily toil, by the help of their ancestors and the gods, and by means of religious ceremonies, they hope to achieve a long and satisfying life in which the basic needs of food, sex, protection, security, play and recreation are insured, and after death to join their departed ancestors in the ancient level land of Ntzī. Two of the fundamental elements in their religion are belief in demons, which cause diseases and other calamities and which must be exorcised by the magician and his ceremonies, and the commemoration of their ancestors by ceremonial rites and offerings. 769 776

The untutored Ch'uan Miao does not know that the world is round, and he has seen so many mountains that he does not regard it as entirely flat. There is an end somewhere, but he does not know how big the world is. 823

Above or on the sky is a level land where the souls of the deceased remain with their ancestors after death. It is called the ancient level land of Ntzī (ntzə² Ti·⁵ lʌu² gʌu¹ bi⁵). Here there are no hills to climb and neither sickness nor death. The sun shines every day, and although there are no rains there is no lack of moisture. People do not farm but gather fruit and berries in the forests, which are much as the forests were on the earth in very ancient times. At the memorial and calendar festivals the offerings of their descendants provide them with food, clothing, money, and wine to satisfy their needs. Formerly there was a ladder connecting the earth and the sky or paradise, but in recent times this connection has been broken. 772 [796]

Under the earth is another world, the land of dwarfs or Lilliputians who are about 2 feet tall. They live much like people on the earth, having houses, farms, a king, soldiers, and a government. One Miao entered this world through a natural cave in a mountain and remained so long that many of the people on earth had forgotten him. Another fell through a hole in the floor of the emperor's palace and after two or three years was able to crawl back onto the earth through a crack caused by a drought. When rain came again the earth swelled up and closed the crack.

Some of the stories speak of a dark place inhabited by demons and presided over by a demon king. 775

The Chinese idea of three principal souls and seven lesser souls, and of karma 776

10: Graham E-5 (1921-?) 1954 AE5 Miao AE5

As we have seen, the deceased ancestors are commemorated by numerous ceremonies in which offerings are made, but the Ch'uan Miao assert that they do not regard ancestors as deities. 769

Among more primitive peoples is found the mana concept, that of a superhuman, supernatural, strange power that is present in unusual persons, deities, and things. Among the Ch'uan Miao this power is assumed but not named or theorized about. It is possessed by gods, godlike creatures, devils, the *do nun* or exorcist, the *mo* or priest, the *bo ntzong* who transforms people into tigers, the ceremonial drum, the *liu sheng*, the ceremonial crossbow, the ceremonial *lin p'ai*, the sword, the seal, etc. There are magic fans by the waving of which battles can be won and other wonders performed, and there are magical charms and incantations possessing this strange power. 789

Tigers, foxes, snakes, banana trees, vines, rats, frogs, cattle, and eels are believed to change into human form and vice versa. Sometimes they change into human form to help people, but often it is to do them harm, and people injured by them must be saved from death by the magician, the *do nun*. 82

The Ch'uan Miao regard all things as alive and sentient. The sun, moon, stars, mountains, rivers, rocks, trees, thunder, the echo, the rainbow, homes, fields, plains, recompense or karma, beds, marriage, swords, the harvest, the year, the *liu sheng*, the ceremonial drum, and even the sound of the ceremonial drum are considered to be living things. Ample evidence of this is found in the stories, and it has often been confirmed to the writer by the Ch'uan Miao themselves.

Ț vear is a living creature with a head like that of a human being. The *liu sheng* is alive, and when played it is regarded as speaking. Ceremonial drums speak when being beaten in the ceremonies. Mountains have heads, feet, hands, eyes, ears, hearts, breasts, veins, and arteries. A plain may be male or female and has a mouth, a heart, arteries, veins, and sinews. The sun and the moon have parents. Rocks and stones are male and female, grow, have offspring, and can speak. Some stones may become immortals. The echo has a deceptive character and can act and speak. Thunder is a living creature, in size and shape like a rooster. It is small but powerful, and its call is the noise of thunder. It has a knife of fire, and when it throws this there is lightning. It is this knife that causes damage when lightning strikes.

The Ch'uan Miao find it natural to say that all things, even those that are inanimate, are alive and have lives, but they find it difficult and less natural to say that inanimate things have souls, although lives are intelligent, active, and have eyes. In some old stories it is stated that people have lives and that the lives are located in the armpits. Are we right or wrong if we call this animatism?

GRAMMAR AND PRONUNCIATION

The grammar of the Ch'uan Miao in some respects resembles that of the Chinese. It is monosyllabic and tonal. The order of the sentence is subject, predicate, and object, but the object follows the noun and the adverb follows the verb. In the Chinese language there is the aspirate and the nonaspirate, but the Ch'uan Miao have the nonaspirate, the "little aspirate," and the "big aspirate." The big aspirate 194 [193]

[12 cont.] After the sacrifice they
796 sometimes carve a pair of wooden images and plant them at the
[532] entrance of their village for protection. (This is the same as the Chinese idea of building a temple for the earth god.) Every year a new pair is added to receive sacrifice. Apart from
[782] this they bludgeon the pigs and bulls to offer to ancestral spirits,
[776] and regard with great awe, all good and evil spirits, such as the
[769] Thunder God, Household God, and Earth God. To them even a
[778] big tree or a strange rock is endowed with divine power. The names of evil spirits are many. If a human being offends a
753 spirit he is liable to become sick, and the only remedy is to ask a kuei-shih or a mi-p'o to the village to perform all kinds of superstitious rites, known colloquially as "spirit affairs." Since
797 the reign of Kwang-hsu [1875-1907] in the Ch'ing Dynasty, foreign Protestant and Catholic missionaries had come to Kweichow to rent houses for dispensing medicine and preaching the gospel. The Miao-I people were attracted by their kind and dignified bearings and many were subsequently converted. These preachers bought property where their congregation was the largest and established schools with teachers instructing the people in the gospel. Today Shih-men-k'an at Wei-ning is the southwest headquarters of the Christian missions. There many Hua Miao become sincere believers [13] and followers. The
[212] missionaries have also introduced a romanized form of Miao language based on the English alphabet, which the Hua Miao learn as the "Miao language."

871 2) Education. The Miao-I in Kweichow have no written language, and therefore there is no education to speak of. In childhood a Miao learns leisurely at home from the adult the simple traditional ways of life. In adolescence he learns outside the home what his natural intellect is capable of, accumulating experiences days and months in an unconscious way without the aid of education. Their knowledge being thus limited, they can have no cultural progress and little improvement in the material things of life. Since the last years of the Ch'ing Dynasty those Miao who lived contiguous to the Chinese had asked the latter to establish schools in their midst. Although the number of Miao reading Chinese was on the increase, the whole system was

[180 cont.]

796 and then hang out knots of scented rice straw, but no red peppers. These decorations are in expectation of a prosperous year.

After having celebrated "The Big Year" on the thirtieth day of the twelfth month and having decorated the door on the New Year's day, the Hua Miao and the Ch'ing Miao would remain at home to rest without doing any work. The food for the New Year was prepared in advance on a lucky day (dragon and [777] dog days are lucky), and it is not cooked again until another lucky day comes around. [181] So on New Year's day there is no kitchen drudgery as only pre-cooked meals are eaten. The [784] New Year's day being the first of the year, everything has to be auspicious and inhibitions are many. For instance, 1) no sewing is done by women at home; 2) nothing is taken into the house from outside; 3) no water is carried; 4) no knife is used; 5) no one is allowed to go barefooted and shoes must be worn; 6) no cursing is allowed; 7) no rapping on the wall is allowed; 8) the floor must not be swept; 9) no collection of debt is permitted. Besides, there are the proverbial "three days of liberty" when [527] parents would allow their sons and daughters unrestrained freedom [593] in the pursuit of recreation and happiness on the first, second and third days of the year. After this period the children once more submit themselves to parental restraint. On the first day of the year the old and young are clothed in new garments and have fun all day long. Only the Hsiung and Yang families 769 among the Ch'ing Miao have the custom of worshipping ancestors 796 in the evening. At the time of the sacrifice, the head of the family would spread a straw mat on the floor of the middle room or the side room and place on it incense and candles as well as three bowls of rice. In each bowl is pitched a piece of pork on a bamboo stick with three straw knots to represent the ancestors. In addition there are three bowls of beancurd and three pieces of tz'u-pa [glutinous rice balls]. They call out aloud to ask their ancestors to pass the New Year with them. Then the male members of the family begin to kowtow in the order of their age. After the paper money is completely burned, they gather up the things on the straw mat. The rice straw and the bamboo

[181 cont.]
796 sticks are thrown into the temple of the Earth God outside the
[769] village.

The New Year activities of the Chung-chia are slightly different from those of the Hua Miao and Ch'ing-Miao. On the first day of the year they also wear new clothes and decorate their doorway. At about seven o'clock in the morning they make sacrifices to their ancestors in the hall with several bowls of rice and meat while incense and candles are burned and firecrackers are set off. The whole family, old and young, male and female, all participate in the ceremony as they perform the ritual of "three kneelings and nine kowtows." After the sacrifice, the family settles down to a New Year feast in the hall, after which they stop working and laugh and joke all day. Their restrictions are similar to those of the Hua Miao and Ch'ing Miao. But the Chung-chia have a peculiar superstition that if
[787] on the first day of the year a dog should bark after cockcrow, there would surely be a robbery in the village; and if the crow caws first, there would surely be many sicknesses among them during the year; on the other hand, if another animal should make a noise before the dog and the crow, then there would be a very lucky year ahead. All these superstitious notions are firmly believed in by the Chung-Chia, and for this reason early in the morning of the New Year's day all the families would cock their ears to listen to the bird or animal that first makes noise.

[182] On the second day of the New Year, the Hua Miao
241 and the Ch'ing Miao would gather their family members after
796 breakfast and with spades on their shoulders and wearing straw hats they would march off to their farms to do a little ploughing and digging, the idea being that this first "earth-removing" inaugurates a year's agricultural activities. With the Chung-chia, there is no definite day for the beginning of farm work, but it is generally around the tenth day of the first month.

796 During the first three days of the year the Hua Miao, the Ch'ing Miao and the Chung-chia would all stay home without going out for fear of meeting with unlucky events. On the
[574] fourth day the villages become astir with New Year visits between

[182 cont.]

796 574 friends and relatives, and the younger generations pay respects to their elders (The New Year gifts for the children vary from ten to twenty cents.) When they exchange visits and greetings they [431] bring with them a couple of home-made tz'u pa (each about 1 sheng of rice), candies and refreshments as gifts. The host and hostesses must entertain the visitors with tea and wine. The tenant farmers also present similar New Year gifts to their landlords, who in return would give them pieces of cloth or other household articles. As a rule such New Year greetings do not extend beyond the twelfth day though intimate relatives may offer theirs until the fifteenth. If a relative who has kept up these New Year visits throughout the past years fails to turn up, the family will be greatly offended. The Miao-I take the New Year greetings very seriously, and hence they should not be neglected.

796 535 The Hua Miao and the Ch'ing Miao in the hsien district have a custom of flower dance. There is a fixed location for the dancing ground, called the "flower bed." The dates for flower dances are set according to schedules in various places, and are generally between the fourth and the fifteenth day of the first month. On this occasion visitors gather like clouds in great jubilation, and it is indeed the most important festival of the Hua Miao and the Ch'ing Miao throughout the year.

796 The fifteenth day of the first month is the "Small New Year" with the Hua Miao and the Ch'ing Miao. That evening they put in front of the doorway a small table, on which are placed as sacrificial offerings a bowl of rice, a piece of meat and a cup of rice wine. Burning incense and lighting candles, they would kneel down and pray: "We pray to the Buddha tonight to guide us this year smoothly to wealth and prosperity." After the prayer, the old and young, except the womenfolk, worship in turn. Then they sit down together for a feast in the hall. After dinner they have fun for the rest of the evening. The Chung-chia celebrate the "Small New Year" on the thirtieth day of the first month. Besides other delicacies at the table, [262] every family makes tz'u-pa balls fried in oil, known as "eating [769] oil balls." They make sacrifices to their ancestors in great piety.

[183]

796 The Second Month. In the second month all New Year festivities are over, and every one among the Miao-I must at-
[461] tend to his duties. If one does not work during the second month, he is adjudged an idler and is ridiculed.

In the middle of the second month, four or five days after
●769 the beginning of spring [Feb. 5-18] according to the lunar
796 calendar, the Miao-I in the district have a custom similar to the Chinese there. Any tomb that is not yet three years old is visited by one or two male members of the family with a basket which contains a tray of beancurd, a piece of fried tz'u-pa, a tray of pork, a cup of wine, a bowl of rice, a pair of candles, nine sticks of incense and some paper money. These are offered in sacrifice. A small number of rich families would lay out a feast at the graveyard, and this is called "lan-shê."

The Third Month. On the third day of this month the Miao-I
[262] eat tz'u-pa made of buckwheat flour called "ch'iao-erh-pa." In the Ching-m[illegible] season [April 5-19] they sweep the grave, a custom known as "[illegible]ging the paper." They stick new willow twigs on their door. On the Ch'ing-ming day they first visit the public grave (the oldest grave of the original ancestor), and then their private graves. In preparation for the visit to the public grave they buy collectively a huge pig as well as candles and incense, firecrackers, wine and delicacies. Members of the entire clan in the village go there to make sacrifices, after which they feast themselves at the grave. After the visit to the public grave they separately prepare items of sacrifice to be offered at their private graves. There are also a small number of rich families who would set up several dozen tables of feasts at the family graveyard to entertain the guests. A few days later, if the wind is mild and the weather fine, the mountain side would be dotted with men and women promenading and enjoying nature.

The Fourth Month. The eighth day of this month is observed as a "Buddha-bathing festival" by the local Chinese. The Chung-chia in the hsien district would set up their ancestral tablets, make tz'u-pa, prepare wine and meat, and burn incense for
796 sacrifice. The Chung-chia in this district as well as the Ku-
231 huang Miao (one branch of the Hua Miao) in four or five areas

[184 cont.]

796 invoke a prosperous harvest. In the afternoon every family contributes a few dimes for the purchase of vegetables and sends a representative to the party, at which rules and regulations are [685] discussed regarding indemnities for damages to crops. He who [212] can write is asked to list the rules on a piece of white paper to be affixed at the village gate. Then on the top of a high mound near the village they set up a straw mark and let loose a din of firecrackers to announce to villages far and near that this village has already passed its laws so that none may go there to violate them.

On this day[A] the number of people making sacrifices before 769 the Earth God temple among the Chung-chia is also large, but 796 in addition each family has to prepare separate glutinous rice dumplings and a chicken for sacrifice to the ancestors. In the afternoon the children would bring dumplings and chicken legs to some nearby river banks to enjoy themselves. Toward evening they would wash their hands and feet in the river before coming home, and this is called "the first wash."

The Seventh Month. The first dragon day of this month is the "new crop festival." On this day all the children of the Hua Miao and Ch'ing Miao [185] wear new clothes. In the morning they would go to the field, each plucking three bunches of grain stalks, which they cook in rice. They also cook a few ears of corn with some blue fish for sacrifice to the ancestors. After the ritual the whole family would sit down to a meal of new rice and 796 corn. The custom of the Chung-chia is similar, except that [251] after the sacrifice the new rice and corn are first fed to the dog [773] of the house before they are eaten by men. According to their tradition, it is said that at the time of creation there was no rice in the world, and that a dog brought the seed from heaven for men to plant. It was only then that people had rice for food. So on the "new crop day" each year rice is first fed to the dog to show that his benefaction has not been forgotten. Among the Chung-chia there is another superstition: from the "new crop day" to the time of the autumn harvest no one in the house, old or young, may sit on the doorsill so as to avoid misfortune.

[A] [i.e., the sixth day of the sixth month.--Analyst]

[163 cont.]
631 government with the functions of an administrator, with the title
648 of "t'ou-sseu" (administrator of barbarian country). This personage has retained a certain moral influence over the neighboring Tonkinese regions but naturally has no administrative authority over these populations.

The "Méo" settled in Tonkin are subject to Annamese law and amenable to the various native and European courts. Most of their
[627] differences are adjusted on the spot, according to the special customs of each tribe. When there is truly no means of settling the affair, the case is brought before higher jurisdiction.

[164] The "Méo" greatly dread the European courts, not so
147 much because of the severity of their sentences, but because these
648 courts most frequently sit in the towns situated at low altitude, where the "Méo" are unable to live. It has quite frequently happened to us to have to judge certain "Méo," the importance of whose crimes exceeded our competence. Upon the announcement of their being sent before the court of the resident of Laokay (altitude: 90 meters) the defendants threw themselves at our feet, saying: "Kill me at once, for if you send me to Laokay, I am sure to die there."

The "Méo" family is not united by as strong ties as the fami-
593 lies of the other groups. Here again is found another manifestation
866 of the spirit of independence of the "Méo," who accept no constraint, even that of the paternal authority when it becomes too annoying. Boys and girls are raised at random, without control and without advice, obeying freely the dictates of their will and their instincts. They part company with their family when it pleases them. However, one son always remains in the paternal household to keep up the cultivation of the fields belonging to the family.

769 Ancestral worship, which constitutes elsewhere so strong a family tie, is observed by the "Méo" in the most summary fashion.

Upon the death of the father, it is the mother who remains head
768 of the family and proprietress of the various belongings, real and
[428] personal. When the mother dies in her turn, the personal property (money, utensils, animals, crops) are divided among the male children. The eldest son or that one of the sons who remains settled in the paternal home becomes head of the family and cultivates the

[165 cont.]

585 The ceremonies which accompany the conclusion of a "Méo" marriage are just so many excuses for feasts and drinking bouts.

584 When a young man has cast his choice upon a young woman, he informs his father of his intentions. The latter selects two old men belonging to the family, whom he charges with going and making the official request in marriage. These two intermediaries, bearing gifts, go to the home of the young woman and are received by her father, who offers them food and drink. If this offer is made within the house, it means that the request is accepted in principle and that the terms may now be discussed. The neighbors are asked in and a small feast is held. (If the offer is made outside the house, it means that the request is not approved, the intermediaries content themselves with eating a morsel and drinking a small cup of alcohol, and withdraw without having entered the home.) The intermediaries then return to the home of the young man to announce the happy result of their mission and to participate in a series of feasts, which last for two days and to which all the relatives and friends of the fiancé are invited. The fiancé receives on this occasion all the gifts [588] which will enable him to make up the amount of the dowry agreed upon.

585 The engagements usually last only a short time. The "Méo" [787] pay no attention to the agreement of the horoscopes. Upon the day [166] set for the marriage, the fiancé, accompanied by his friends and preceded by flute players, betakes himself to his fiancée's home where he presents his gifts and where a monstrous feast begins which lasts throughout the day. The fiancée spends the night in her own house, surrounded by her friends, who aid her in making her preparations. The morning of the next day the fiancée dons her garments for grand ceremonies, which she generally wears only on that day. (If the fiancé is of another tribe, she assumes the costume of that tribe.) The cortege, formed of the two spouses accompanied by their friends of both sexes and preceded by "sen" players, goes to the home of the young man where the young wife is presented to her parents-in-law. In the tribes where ancestral worship is practiced, [769] the newlyweds prostrate themselves before the altar. Then begin the feasts, the dances, and the songs, which often last for several ooo days, according to the resources of the fiancé. The young couple

[167 cont.]

684 586 The adulterous wife usually is repudiated and her parents must refund the dowry. The betrayed husband has the right to kill his wife and even her accomplice. This right is almost never exercised.

N. B. — We have said above (paragraph relative to the general 548 778 character of the "Méo" that many "Méo" young women were of rather easy virtue and even examples of prostitution are cited without the slightest dishonor to those engaged in it. All Europeans who have passed through Dongvan or have lived there for a while, are familiar with the famous "sacred wood" located within a few hundred meters of the post (it may be seen in the background of photo 467, Plate 41). This wood, of small extent, is situated between two hills. There are very fine trees, several groups of rather picturesque rocks, and it encloses the ruins of an ancient pagoda.

548 When a European goes for a walk in this wood, one may soon see descending from the neighboring hillsides where they are working, several young "Méo" women coming to offer the stroller their smiles and ... all the rest. It is only just to add, however, that the nymphs of the "sacred wood" of Dongvan do not always belong to the "Méo" group and that they also include young "Lolo" women (of the kind photo 466, Plate 30 shows).

764 [769] The respect and worship of the dead are not as rigorously observed among the "Méo" as in the other groups. The funerals, like the other great events of life — births and marriages — are scarcely more than occasions for drinking and feasting.

The corpse, dressed in his best clothes, is fastened standing upright against one of the walls of the hall of honor, where relatives, neighbors, and friends are gathered together. For three days the feasts and the dances alternate without interruption. The deceased is invited to share in the meals and often small pieces of meat are placed in his mouth. In certain tribes, a dog is killed, which then [825] is fastened to the hand of the deceased by means of a paper ribbon. This dog is charged with guiding the steps of his master on the pathways of the other life.

The site of the grave designated by the priest-sorcerer, the corpse is carried on a stretcher to the place of burial. When a coffin is built, the placing of the body in the bier is done at the last moment, at [168] the edge of the trench, as soon as it is dug. The cortege,

[168 cont.]

764 which includes the relatives and friends, set off firecrackers and rifle shots. (The "Méo" women do not participate in the funeral ceremonies.) After the body has been placed in the grave, the trench is completely filled in, and above it is built a little mound, often covered with flat stones on which the stretcher is broken that served to carry the deceased. The cortège then returns to the house of death, where the feasts are resumed until the provisions prepared have been exhausted.

No further attention is paid to the dead. In the region of Pha-Long, one of the children of the deceased brings a little food to the grave for two or three days immediately after the funeral, and that is all. (Photos 198 and 199, Plate 42, represent the funeral of a rich "Méo" who was "ly-truong" of the commune of Pha-Long. Except in the matter of the coffin, made in this case with great care of unrottable planks, in the Chinese manner, the ceremony was just as simple as for a poor "Méo.")

765 Mourning is marked by the wearing of a white turban.

The "Méo," properly speaking, have no religion and evince
771 the same spirit of independence toward the gods as toward man. In the same way, as we have already pointed out, they do not even practice ancestral worship except in the vaguest manner. The an-
769 cestral altar consists generally of one or several bands of red paper,
778 glued to a partition in the hall of honor. Below these there is a small table holding a bowl full of sand, into which is stuck, from time to time, a stick of lighted incense.

The worship amounts to a few invocations and the offering of food, when a feast is held in the house.

776 The "Méo" recognize the spirit of the heavens ("Tô"), of the earth ("Ang"), of the mountains ("sien-chen"), of the thunder ("lu-chen"), of the waters (the dragon "Long-wang"), and the spirits of the hearth ("tsao-chen").

773 The "Méo" are acquainted with the legend of the flood which we have already told: a single couple, brother and sister, surviving the cataclysm, whose incestuous union produced a calabash. The seeds of this calabash gave birth to man kind.

776 That which especially characterizes the "Méo" is that, although they believe in the existence of evil spirits, capable of

39: Bernatzik--61 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
AKha A04
Miao AE5

c) Family Units

A M 614 [764]

Neither among the Meau nor among the Akha do the sibs /Sippen/ live locally separated or have their own totems. On the other hand, the Akha have their own burial places, but the Meau do not. Likewise among the two peoples there are no religious sib-celebrations or common insignia or individual sib-heads. The unit is not the sib, but the large /extended/ family /Grossfamilie/, which lives in one house and consists of the head of the family, his unmarried sons and daughters, and, among the Meau, the married sons up to the end of their thirtieth year and their families.

A M 596

The rights of the head of a large family are very extensive. All those living in the house; wives, children, and grandchildren, must obey him; he has unlimited authority, and he may punish, beat, or, among the Meau, in special cases even kill the members of the household under him. This is not the case among the Akha, among whom only twins are killed (cf. the chapter, "Life in the Community," section on "Birth"). Otherwise, however, the head of the large family, who is responsible for the well-being of all the others, irrevocably decides all the disputes within his household community.

In view of the proverbial compatibility of the members of a Meau family, the head of such a large family hardly ever has occasion actually to interfere, but on the other hand, he often does among the Akha. Among the Meau I repeatedly observed that the head did not make a decision without first consulting with the sons who lived under his roof. There was never a decision against the will of the subordinate concerned. The sons, too, however, avoided expressing their opinion until after they had conferred with the head of the large family. In such cases I was always given the answer: "This is not our business; we must first ask the father."

A M [769] [756]

It is the duty of the head to officiate and offer the sacrifices in connection with the religious festivals of the large family, namely, the festivals for the dead or the veneration of the ancestors. If especially important affairs are involved, for instance, if measures have to be taken in connection with the

/99 cont./

585 As a rule, marriages are concluded in the dry season, preferably between New Year and the beginning of the work in the fields.

583 585 [301] Among the Meau, on the wedding day, the bride's parents, according to their means, provide their daughter with silver neck ornaments and rings, and sometimes also with blankets which were bought at the market. The /100/ rest of the trousseau depends on the industry and skill of the girl, who has had to prepare it carefully over the years. This is why the trousseau of a girl from a simple family is often considerably more beautiful than that of a daughter of a distinguished household, even if the poor girl usually lacks the silver ornaments and purchased goods. The latter, on the other hand, sometimes are the entire trousseau of a rich, pleasure-seeking, and therefore lazy girl, according to my informant.

585 The bride is led to the groom's house by her mother and all her kinswomen. As soon as their approach is announced by the scouts posted for this, the bridegroom, accompanied by his parents and relatives, goes out to meet her. The bride is now festively greeted, but without dancing, and is led by the bridegroom into the house of his parents. This often makes the [152] bride weep, for with this step into marriage her life up to this time is ended and an uncertain future begins. Now the head of the large /extended/ family makes a sacrifice to the ancestors, [782] [769] informs them that a new member of the family has been received, and asks them to give her the same protection that they extend to the other members of the family.

[574] [554] [273] Everybody sits down to the feast, which lasts far into the night. As a rule three pigs are slaughtered for it, but among poor people there may be fewer and among rich people more; in addition plenty of alcohol distilled from rice or maize is served, but no beer. The bride spends the first three nights with the unmarried girls of the family, and not until the fourth evening does she move to the bed of her husband [513] [595] in his sleeping quarters, which he, as a married son of the house, has exclusively for himself and his wives. Here she shares his bed with him and, in case he is already married, with his other wives.

/102 cont./
184 in the bride's house. This is the last night that the young
585 woman will spend with her girl friends in her parents' home. The next day, the bride in festive garb, and, if the bridegroom belongs to a tribe different from hers, in the garb of his tribe, goes to the house of her father-in-law in the company of a large crowd of friends of both sexes. Behind her a friend carries a chest with her belongings. The procession, in all the colors of the rainbow and accompanied by the sound of instruments, sets out along the slopes while the inhabitants of the neighboring hamlets shout greetings down from the rocks which line the route.

"The ceremony takes place in the house of the young man through the introduction of the bride to her parents-in-law
[782] and through the invocation of ancestors before the altar, if this
[769] custom is practiced in the region concerned, for in several regions it is completely absent, and furthermore principally through dances, singing, and entertainments, which, depending on the means of the bridegroom, may last one or several days."

114 /103/ Abadie (1) borrows this description almost verbatim,
591
585

1. Page 166.

but adds that the young married couple have the choice of either starting an independent household or staying in the house of the bridegroom's father. The other authors and I myself did not find that the young couple was allowed to make this decision.

184 Dhuraratsadorn (2) makes his description shorter: "The
585
[584]

2. Page 168.

father or the go-between must be the first to go forth and ask the bride's father for the hand of his daughter. All the preparations for the wedding are then made by the bride's parents. On the wedding day, the bride's father or the go-between leads

/111 cont./
M 587 "Courtship and Betrothal" in this chapter); if the husband dies, however, among the Meau the oldest of the younger brothers of the deceased usually takes the widow or widows into his house as his wives. It is up to each individual, however, to choose whether or not he wants to take this course. Matters are usually arranged so that the widows who are old and have many children become the wives of the brother of the deceased; the young and pretty widows, however, who do not as yet have many children, marry an outsider. The brother does not have to pay a purchase price for the widows, but the outsider must pay approximately the sum paid for a girl, with the price adjusted according to the number of children and their youth; M [614] the fewer and the younger the children of the widow are, the higher the price, which is shared by the membersof the sib.

A 587 [292] /112/ Among the Akha the widow again goes to the dancing places with the young girls, after she has removed the veiling of the bamboo cover of her head adornment (see the chapter, "Clothing and Ornaments"); and henceforth her behavior does not differ in any way from that of the girls. In general, however, it is about six to twelve months before she decides to enter another marriage, in which case she must leave her children with the family of the deceased. If she does not want to do this, she has no other course but to renounce any new marriage. As A [589] a consequence, Akha women who are somewhat older and are richer in children usually do not marry again, whereas young women with few or no children usually take the course of re- A M marriage. Among neither the Meau nor the Akha, however, do widows return to their original sib; if the widow was [614] [851] pregnant at the time of the death of the husband, the posthumous child belongs to the sib of the deceased, but later children belong to the new husband.

M 586 [769] Aside from the dissolution of marriage through the death of one of the spouses there is such through divorce. It is rare, however, because among the Meau it is regarded as unacceptable to the ancestors. Savina (1), too, writes that divorces are

1. II, p. 226.

/112 cont./

586 extremely rare and usually the parents straighten out the
769 matter. If there is a divorce nevertheless, the ancestors are not informed and no sacrifice is offered, lest the ancestors' attention be drawn to the unpleasant fact.

586 Among the Meau a husband has no divorce-right. This
837 is only logical since it is possible for him to marry another girl at any time. The wife, on the other hand, can get a divorce, though this is somewhat difficult. To begin with, the only grounds for divorce for her is her own marital infidelity and her flight with the seducer. First of all, therefore, she has
[558] to find a man who is willing to shoulder the unpleasant aspects of adultery and the ensuing loss of his prestige.

[694] If the adulteress refuses to return to her husband, the adulterer and seducer, or his family, must repay the bride price to the deceived husband. If he is not able to do this at once, he must pay it in installments, /113/ and this may
[851] sometimes take a long time. All of the woman's children who were born before the complete recovery of the bride price belong to the former husband. The future children belong to the new husband only after the final payment of the bride price.

Moreover, the adulterer sought must be able to take upon
[614] himself the enmity of the family of the husband, which is no
578 easy matter if this is a powerful sib. It is precisely in such
595 sibs, however, that unhappy wives are the most common. The husband is often old, has several wives, and is able to buy his new wife by reason of his money. She, in turn, had looked forward to a different life and instead is treated badly by the wives superior to her, but especially by her mother-in-law, whereas the husband pays no attention to her.

Since the regulations mean a heavy burden for the new husband, it is not easy for a wife eager for a divorce to obtain her freedom.

586 If the wife of a Meau sees absolutely no way out and yet
648 wishes to leave her husband, she turns to a Chinese trader (see
587 the chapter, "Trade"). They travel around a great deal and
[583] know all the Meau villages and the conditions prevailing among

/118 cont./

765 and likewise a widower after the death of his wife, are for-
582 bidden to marry or to have sexual intercourse for one year.
834 Widows, however, are subject to these restrictions for one
week. The festival of the dead is celebrated one year after the
769 funeral at the latest. The date is not fixed; a sufficient supply
of food is collected for it first, since all the relatives and
friends of the deceased, even from the neighboring villages,
appear at this celebration. One to three pigs are slaughtered,
[556] depending on the wealth and the social position of the deceased
[574] and on the number of guests, the feast is prepared, and alcohol
[782] and rice are also served. No sacrifices, however, are offered
on this occasion, and there are no subsequent ceremonies.
764 Lajonquière (4) gives an impressive, somewhat different

4. II, p. 318.

description of a Meau burial: "The burial customs are not always the same among the various tribes, but in our opinion the following are the most invariable ones: When a Meau has died, the sorcerer, provided that there is one in the area, is informed. With or /119/ without his help, the deceased is clothed in his best garments and tied in an erect position to one of the partitions of the house; then the funeral rites begin, in which the friends and neighbors participate. They last three days, during which there is a succession of feasts and dances. They eat in honor of the dead and with many kind words invite him to participate. His children even try to squeeze pieces of meat between the stiff lips.

764 "One or two buffalo have been slaughtered for the guests;
775 a dog is killed for the deceased, prepared, and, with a paper string in its mouth, which is tied to the wrist of the corpse, is put beside it. (A Meau whom we questioned about the meaning of this custom told us that the dog was assigned the task of leading his master on the paths of the other world.)"

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/150 cont./

M 114 535 796 [769] I did become acquainted with the dance of the Meau as a definite cult dance which is performed in connection with the festivals for the dead and burials in order to please the soul of the deceased, and furthermore there is dancing during the New Year's festival in order to please the ancestors. Therefore I believe that a dance of the Meau on market days cannot be customary, since, as was pointed out, dancing is connected with the use of the sacral musical instruments, which, of course, are not used on market days.

A 535 The ceremonial dance of the Akha men is more moderate than that of the Meau. The Akha do not go into a squatting position, but alternately execute slight turns toward either side with the upper body and from time to time insert little jumps (Ill. 23).[1] Thus their dance is by no means wild, like, say, the dance of primitives, for example; but is more reminiscent of our old round dances.

Aside from this dance related to the cult activities, the dance also plays an important role among the Akha simply as an expression of the joy of life (see the chapter, "Life in the Community," section on "Sexual Development"). It offers the A [832] boys a splendid opportunity to put themselves in a good light before the girls and to display the nimbleness of their limbs.

The women's dance of the Akha -- a phenomenon unknown to the Meau -- consists of several figures and is likewise a /151/ round dance. The girls start in single file, grasp one another by the shoulders, and perform the steps of their round dance to the accompaniment of their songs. It is an obvious expression of love of life and high spirits when at the end each girl takes the leg of the girl in front in her right hand so that all of them are now hopping on one leg in a circle (Ill. 24).[2] These round dances of the girls have nothing to do with the cult of the A [832] Akha; they, like the non-cult dances of the boys, go with love life. The chief of the village of Kajäka remarked: "Our girls' dances are done only to entertain the young folk."

A M 535 883 The dancing takes place on special dancing places in the vicinity of the villages and preferably on moonlit nights. Only the young people take part in these dances, no married women of any age and young husbands only as exceptions among both

[1] [see cat 116, p 131- ANALYST]
[2] [" " ", p 132- " "]

/160 cont./

775 sib died out, the informants repeatedly gave me the answer: "That does not happen." When I pointed to other peoples, it was said: "Well, we do not know what souls would do in such a case." They could not tell me any more about what happened to the souls of the insane or cretins, and similarly there was [828] no explanation for fainting.

769 When the Meau change their residence site, the souls of 114 the dead leave the old house along with the migrants, after they [775] have been informed of the change of location through a special ceremony. They then migrate with them and take up residence in the new dwelling of the family. Contrary to my findings, Lajonquière (1) reports that the souls stay in the old houses in

II, p. 319.

case of a change of residence: "A Meau who was asked by a missionary whether he worships his ancestors answered: 'Yes, they are there, and we do not take them with us!'" It seems to me that this is undoubtedly an error, for otherwise the confirmed ancestor worship and the cult associated with it among the Meau could not be explained. I do not think that there is a misconception on my part because my data are largely confirmed by various observations of other authors, and moreover a cult of the kind practiced by the Meau without the presence of ancestors could only be regarded as absurd.

753 If a soul does not find its way back to the body, it is 774 commonly assumed, as was said, that evil spirits prevent it from doing so, but it may also happen that it simply loses its way. That is, it is inquisitive and goes into the region of the clouds or into distant primeval forests among strange peoples and in doing so travels dangerous and devious paths. The owner of such a wandering soul /161/ grows weak and wastes [761] away; if one does not succeed in calling the soul back, the person dies.

775 The dead and their souls are not feared. The dead 761 body remains in the grave and decomposes; it can never return. If it should actually come back to life, this could only mean that there was a mistake and that the person had

/203 cont./

782 One turns to the appropriate deity by means of prayer,
[516] which, however, might better be called invocation. One squats or kneels on one leg and puts the hands at chest height with the palms together. When invoking the high Father-Mother spirit, one looks toward heaven and lifts his folded hands in this direction; when invoking other spirits, the ancestors, for instance, one looks at the altar dedicated to the one invoked. In this position
[788] and with simple words one informs the deity concerned of his
[756] wish; prayer formulas are unknown. The shaman, too converses
[787] with the spirits as with human beings; there is neither a special spirit-language nor special magic formulas.

788 The Meau are also familiar with benedictions, and the person of higher rank pronounces his blessing upon the person lower in rank. Thus, the chief blesses his subjects, the shaman his fellow-tribesmen, the father his children. The person pro-
[516] nouncing the benediction folds his hands in the manner described, stretches them first over the head of the person to be blessed and then up to heaven, and at the same time invokes the Father-Mother spirit, whom he beseeches to bring good fortune to the protégé, to grant him a safe journey, or, in short, to bless the undertaking.

769 As was already pointed out, the Meau erect places of worship
776 which are regarded as the principal abodes of the spirits and are
782 dedicated to them. In general, sacrifices may be offered to the
[778] spirits and to the ancestors only at these places of worship erected for them. The ancestors, for instance, grant protection against the revenge of evil spirits. For this, however, one must explain to them what the /204/ situation is. If one meets an evil spirit in the bush, he runs home as fast as his legs will carry him, in order to offer a sacrifice to the ancestors, who otherwise would not know what has happened and therefore would be unable to help. Then one would be helplessly exposed to the revenge of the evil spirit.

778 Aside from the ancestors, every Meau builds places of worship
776 and, to be sure, altars (Fig. 41 to Fig. 44), for those spirits with whom
[782] he stands in a special relationship and to whom he sacrifices regularly because he needs their protection and their help in particular.

/204 cont./

778 The smith, for instance, erects an altar for the teacher-spirit of the
776 smiths, the shaman for the teacher-spirit of the shamans, etc., and thus there are many places of worship, each dedicated to a different deity. Not all of the good or neutral spirits by any means, however, have such altars or sacrificial places.

776 There is a single spirit to whom sacrifices may be offered
782 anywhere, irrespective of special places of worship. This is the bisexual, high Father-Mother spirit, for he alone has the power and the ability to be omnipresent. Nevertheless, for him, too
[796] the principal sacrifice at the New Year's festival is offered at a sacrificial place dedicated to him.

778 These little altars seem to be very simple among the Meau
[114] in Tonkin. Lajonquière (1) gives the following description, which

1. II, p. 313.

we also find almost verbatim in Abadie (2):

2. Page 168.

"... The family altar usually consists only of sheets of red paper with gold dots, which are pasted against one of the walls. Or even simpler, of a small table, on which stands a small cup made of bamboo, which is filled with sand. At certain times,
[782] one or two incense candles are lighted and placed upon it, which is the extent of ordinary worship."

778 Among the Meau in Thailand, I also occasionally found small
782 altars erected to the good spirits in the rice fields and gardens,
243 which were supposed to protect the crops. Sacrifices are often offered to these spirits, however, at a particular place in the dwelling after returning from the field or before leaving for work in the fields.

782 The New Year's festival has extraordinary cultic significance.
796 On this occasion, sacrifices are offered to all of the good and evil
● [769] spirits as well as to the ancestors, in addition to all the other prescribed and voluntary sacrifices. The festival of the New Year lasts four /205/ days and begins on the day of the new moon in December. Many days earlier careful preparations have been

/205 cont./

782 796 made to lay in a sufficient supply of food and game, while the domestic animals as well are available for sacrifice. Special attention is also paid to the rice cakes, great quantities of which are baked before the New Year's festival (see also the chapter, "Food and Stimulants," section on "Food").

Immediately after midnight the women begin to prepare food for the sacrifices. By breakfast time the papers (Fig. 45) on all the altars are renewed, and immediately after this meal the sacrifices begin, which are offered by the head of the large [596] [769] /extended/ family. One sacrifices first to the ancestors, then to the bisexual high Father-Mother spirit, and then the sacrifices for the other spirits follow, according to both their rank and that of the sacrificers. Moreover, every Meau sacrifices to those spirits for whom he has erected special altars, in order to assure himself of their protection and help.

[769] A pair of chickens, alcohol, and rice are sacrificed to the ancestors; four incense candles are lighted on the altar and four small bowls of tea are set out for the high Father-Mother spirit; then the animals are sacrificed in front of the altar in the manner already described. Some of the blood flowing from the severed throats of the animals is caught with sacral papers and then burned. A piece of the meat of the sacrificial animals is put in each of the cups filled with tea, and the Father-Mother spirit is urged to feast well. In connection with the New Year's festival the shaman sacrifices to his teacher-spirit and to the assistant spirits by renewing the paper that adorns the altar. In addition, every [596] head of a household in the village adds his own sacrifice which is offered in front of the newly decorated altar. The offering may be a chicken or, if animals are available in abundance, even a pig.

[326] The smith too, sacrifices to his teacher-spirit and the latter's assistant spirits. His sacrifice consists of six incense candles, a thousand pieces of sacral paper, and a pair of chickens, which are sacrificed in the ordinary way (see section, "Magic, Soothsaying, and Interpretation of Omens," in this chapter), with the burning of some blood-soaked spirit-paper.

/206 cont./

796 Maspero describes the New Year's festival similarly: "The
[782] New Year's festival comes after the harvest. 'The year is de-
[769] voured,' by sacrificing a pig to the ancestors and eating it com-
[526] munally with all the neighbors. Boys and girls then play ball
[241] and dance and sing at night around a tree that the village sorcerer has selected, in order to increase the fertility of the new year."

782 Aside from this one principal sacrifice of the year, sacri-
796 fices are offered, as has been said, in part at certain times and in part at every important occasion, such as setting out to hunt, housebuilding (see the chapter, "Settlement and House Construction," section on the building of a dwelling), village and field
[184] arrangements, /207/ and cultivation of the fields. Maspero (1)

1. Page 244.

has made similar observations in Indochina and points out that in connection with sowing a chicken and incense (incense candles are meant, note Dr. B.) are sacrificed to the mountain god.

782 On such occasions one always turns to those spirits in whose
231 realm fall the activities for which protection and help is sought.
[776] The extent of the sacrifice varies from a handful of field produce to a chicken or a pig, depending on the importance of the undertaking; cattle, horses, or buffalo are never sacrificed, however. In the Chinese literature (2) there are several reports of dogs as

2. ChHch'kfsch. II, ch. 10, p. 38, and ITG, 471 25b.

sacrificial animals. I believe, however, that this is not a matter of a sacrifice, but rather the creation of guardian spirits, as I have described it in the section, "Deities and Spirits," in this chapter.

The Chinese literature (3) also mentions the buffalo as a

3. North-China Br., 1859, p. 285, and Album Gotha, No. 19.

38: Bernatzik--283 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 A01 Thailand
Miao AE5

/208 cont./

769 782 [852] [764] As has already been described in detail in the pertinent sections of the chapter, "Life in the Community," sacrifices are offered to the ancestors on the third day after the birth of a child, in connection with the conclusion of a marriage, and at the burial of a human being. When it is a matter of the death of the head of a family, his chief wife, together with the oldest son of the deceased, offers a sacrifice.

The Meau is not satisfied, however, with the sacrifices mentioned, for the ancestors play an important role in all the details of his everyday life. For example, the spirits are informed of any change in the number of the livestock of the household, since whenever anyone sacrifices an animal, he does not fail to let some blood drip upon sacral paper and in burning this, calls upon the ancestors to enjoy themselves as well. If [437] an animal is sold alive, one sacrifices an appropriate amount of spirit-money to the ancestors, informs them of the sale, and thanks them for their help in letting the animal become large and strong. Even if one only sells a little pig, he remembers the ancestors and thanks them for letting the sow become so great with young and bring so many young into the world.

484 782 [461] Sacrifices are made not only before decisive events, but also before beginning any kind of work or prior to a journey. I was able to take part in one such sacrifice. The brother-in-law of Chief Tsin Tsai had come for a visit and now intended to return to his village. The chief decided to sacrifice a pig in order to make sure that his relative would have a safe trip. The sacrifice was offered to the high Father-Mother spirit, and accordingly the bench that otherwise stood in front of the altar within the house was set up in front of the house. The fettered live pig was put on it in such a way /209/ that its snout projected beyond it. On the ground under it spirit-money in the value of the pig was burned, and through this it was "bought" from the spirits (Ill. 103).[1] The bench was then cleared, and on it the chief placed bowls of tea and incense candles and added six pieces of spirit-money, each having the spirit-value of 25 pieces of silver. Next he picked up the oracle horns and asked the [787] spirits whether his brother-in-law would have a safe journey home.

[1] [see cat 116, P704- ANALYST]

/209 cont./

484 782 Only then was the pig sacrificed in the usual manner by having its throat cut and blood-soaked paper burned along with invocations. Then the brother-in-law confidently set out.

574 782 114 261 It is strange that the very Meau whom I knew as so moderate are described by some authors as positively gluttonous, so that one sees the Meau as using the sacrifices only as a means for arranging lavish feasts. Abadie (1), for example: "In con-

1. Page 167.

[769] trast, the veneration and cult of the dead are not as strictly observed among the Meau as among the other groups of peoples. Burials, like the other great acts of life, births or weddings, are celebrated scarcely more than as opportunities for drinking and feasting."

Lajonquière (2), too, writes in this vein, and likewise

2. II, p. 313.

Abadie (3) in almost the same words: "A vague cult is devoted to

3. Page 168.

the ancestors, but on the whole it is limited to a few invocations and some sacrifices of food, which immediately afterwards are devoured..."

These authors made their observations among the Meau in Tonkin. Abadie (4) participated in many sacrificial feasts, just

4. Page 169.

as I did, but he seems to have obtained lasting impressions of the alleged delight in Lucullan pleasures among the Meau: "The Meau [796] celebrate a great number of festivals, which for them are the opportunity for just as many gluttonous meals. At the beginning of the year, the spirits of heaven, of the earth, and of the house, as well as the ancestors, are honored in particular. At the time [776 241] of sowing, sacrifices are offered to the mountain spirits, the

796 /209 cont./
574 protectors of the harvest. After the harvest there are more sacri-
782 fices for the mountain spirits and the ancestors. On the third
114 day of the fifth month there is a special festival at the time of
261 the harvest of medicinal plants. Besides these festivals which
[776] have fixed dates, the Meau scrupulously celebrate birthdays and
[241] other auspicious events. All /210/ of these festivals consist of
[527] eating and drinking, interspersed with singing and dancing."

Lajonquière (1) describes the following sacrifice offered by

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1. II, p. 314.

the Meau in Tonkin: "At the beginning of the year they sacrifice to heaven and earth, to the hearth spirit, and to the ancestors, offering to them a piece of meat, a bowl of rice, and gold paper. On the third day of the fifth month they sacrifice a chicken and collect the medicinal agents and the dye plants. On the sixth
● [769] day of the seventh month they sacrifice to the ancestors. At sowing time they dedicate a cult to the spirits of the mountains by offering meat, a chicken, incense sticks, and gold paper to them.
[241] At the time of the harvest they again make sacrifices to the
[769] spirits and ancestors, so that the next harvest will likewise be good."
[114] In any case, whether one assumes materialistic or religious reasons for the many sacrificial feasts, the assertion that Dhuraratsadorn (2) makes, that the Meau conduct no prayers or

2. Page 173.

sacrifices for the local spirits and no rites of any kind in connection with the rice fields, housebuilding, or fishing, is undoubtedly incorrect.

778 As cult and ceremonial implements, there are the spirit-
782 swords made of wood (Figs. 53 and 54) or bronze (Fig. 55) and
[177] sacrificial bowls of earthenware or porcelain, which, however, are of Chinese origin, whereas the fat-lamps (Fig. 51) and incense candles (Fig. 41b), as well as the oracle horns, are made locally. Among the cult implements there are also the
[413] punches (see the chapter, "Handicrafts," Figs. 359 and 360) with

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/233 cont./

A M 164 cases. Frambesia occurs occasionally, cholera more frequently. The last epidemic known to me occurred among the Akha in 1933 and brought severe losses with it.

Furthermore all kinds of cold-sicknesses are common, including pneumonia; on the other hand, I could not find any tuberculosis. Lajonquière (2) also reports on the causes of these

2. II, p. 306.

cold-ailments, and Abadie (3) confirms his data:

3. Page 159.

"When the wind blows and on winter evenings sweeps in icy gusts through the poorly closed walls, when the damp air cools A M [513] off to about zero, the whole family presses around the hearth, in which a few pieces of wood glow. All night long they sleep in the ashes, one leaning against the other. This is the time when the aged and the very little ones catch their bad coughs, which follow them to their graves."

/234/ In keeping with the greater dirtiness of the Meau, head lice and body lice are considerably more numerous among them than among the Akha. The Meau also suffer from severe forms of scabies in connection with dermatitis. Caries are likewise common only among the Meau, as is pyorrhea, which I could not find among the Akha.

A M 753 776 M 755 [756] [769] As I have already pointed out in the chapter, "Religion," the section on "Magic, Soothsaying, Interpretation of Omens," some of the illnesses befalling them are traced back by the Akha as well as the Meau to the work of evil spirits. In such cases, the Meau turn first to the ancestors for help, and, if they cannot help, to the bisexual high Father-Mother spirit. Then one attempts to drive out the evil spirits with the help of the shaman, who often actually is skilled in medicine, even in our sense. The course of requesting the help of the ancestors and spirits is chosen only in case of sicknesses for which no remedies are known to the Meau, against which they are helpless, and which they regard as dangerous and incurable on the

/248 cont./

c) Criminal Law

673 Regarded as crimes among the Meau are: theft, robbery, manslaughter, lying, bodily injury, and offense by assault, whereas verbal offenses are not ordinarily punished. Furthermore, kidnapping, especially of children, is regarded as a crime. In former times, treason was added to the list of possible crimes which were punished.

684 [769] [622] Incest, on the other hand, is punished exclusively by the ancestors; the people do not interfere. If it becomes known, however, it is regarded as the utmost disgrace.

At first it seems surprising that rape generally remains unpunished. Since, however, in the life of the Meau a girl can hardly be taken unawares without some co-operation on her part -- there are always female companions or family members nearby when a girl leaves a village -- it is assumed that a girl who goes off alone with a boy is prepared for every eventuality. If a case of rape should occur, however, the girl's father demands two or three pieces of silver from the culprit, who will pay without opposition. The case is different if the girl becomes pregnant. Then no distinction is made between rape and voluntary surrender. Even then, however, as was set forth in detail in the chapter, "Life in the Community," the section, "Courtship and Betrothal," no pressure is exerted for marriage. /Ills. 46-51 appear here on unnumbered pages/ /249/ although the girl's parents in particular will make every attempt to bring about the marriage.

[848] If a girl who is pregnant as a consequence of the wrong done to her should give birth to a stillborn child, the culprit must pay the same price for the stillborn child as is charged for children who must be turned over to a creditor in lieu of payment, namely, 70 pieces of silver for a boy, and 50 pieces for a girl.